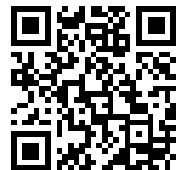


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# HERESY AND IMMORALITY

CONSIDERED

IN THEIR RESPECTIVE BEARING ON

## The Notes of the Church.

BEING

A FINAL LETTER TO THE EDITOR OF THE "GUARDIAN."



By WILLIAM GEORGE WARD,

AUTHOR OF

"ONE WORD ON THE EXISTING CONSTITUTION OF THE ANGLICAN ESTABLISHMENT,"  
AND OF TWO PREVIOUS LETTERS.



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*By the same Author.*

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I.

**ONE WORD ON THE EXISTING CONSTITUTION OF THE  
ANGLICAN ESTABLISHMENT. 8vo. 3d.**

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## PREFACE.

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It is not necessary to trouble the public with mention of the various reasons, which have delayed the publication of the present pamphlet to a period considerably later than I had hoped. But I may say so much as this, that had I been contented with exhibiting and commenting on the more extreme instances of misapprehension or fallacy into which my Reviewer has fallen, I might have appeared in print very soon indeed after the termination of his Notices. Nor were there wanting many inducements for so doing. I could not but be aware that the tone and superficial appearance of the criticism in the *Guardian* were such, that even friendly readers might naturally suppose me to have fallen into one or two, at least, considerable mistakes and oversights. Nothing indeed would prevent such an impression, except that careful comparison of the comment with the text, which cannot be expected from any but the author himself. But I really think that any one who may now think it worth while to examine the said Notices in connexion with this publication, will agree with me, that there has been displayed on the opposite side a hastiness and inaccuracy of cita-

tion, a looseness of argument, and a total absence of all pains (that I may speak within the mark) fairly to represent my reasoning, which could not have been anticipated from a writer so able and vigorous, and apparently so sincere.

It appeared to me however better on the whole, rather to bear with temporary misapprehension, than to be too precipitate in my reply. The line of argument on which my opponent lays his chief stress, is one which, in one shape or other, I believe to have considerable weight with great numbers of his party; while it has not, so far as I am aware, been handled expressly and distinctly at any length by our controversialists. I thought it better therefore, to treat the subject once for all, as completely as I was able.

The Six Notices, to which the following pages refer, will be seen in the *Guardian* of Jan. 15, Jan. 22, Jan. 29, Feb. 12, Feb. 19, and March 5, for the present year. There will not be found, I believe, a single argument of my opponent's in any way bearing on the subject, nor a single reply of his to any of mine, which will not be here distinctly noticed. Nor have I been able to make a single retraction; except indeed of one or two mere expressions, or incidental arguments of the most subordinate importance.

This detailed reference to each individual argument, will, I trust, be of use to such as may really care to look into the merits of the controversy. At the same time, no one can be more sensible than myself of the inconvenience resulting from it, in the comparatively dry and uninteresting character, which is necessarily imparted by such a style of composition. I have done my best to lessen this inconvenience, by interweaving my replies,

wherever it was possible, in a methodical course of reasoning; and where that was not possible, relegating such replies to foot-notes.

The title prefixed sufficiently expresses the question, on which this reasoning has been brought to converge. I have only had one misgiving as to its adoption; my fear, namely, lest it lead my readers to imagine me to concede what I do *not* concede;—to concede that the superiority of the Catholic Church over the Anglican Establishment is less signal in her promotion of holiness, than in her maintenance of doctrinal orthodoxy. I would most earnestly draw the reader's attention to my remarks on this head, from p. 68 to p. 73.

So much for the title: in the arrangement also, there is a particular which calls for explanation. I have considered the general question by the light of Antiquity, before I have brought out my Scriptural proof; an order of things both contrary to the general practice of Catholic theologians, and also which, if unexplained, might appear deficient in due reverence for the Inspired Word. It really originated however, *from* that reverence itself; and from my fear lest, if I joined issue at once with my opponent on his Scriptural quotations, I might be understood as admitting the relevancy and propriety of his *mode* of appeal to them. I could not in any other way so well express my deep disapprobation of such his mode of appeal, as by first exhibiting the Ecclesiastical Tradition on the question in hand.

I must take advantage of this opportunity, for want of a better, to comment on another matter connected with my former Letter; and to express my great surprise at the silence of the *Christian Remembrancer* on



certain matters contained in it. I am not alluding, of course, to my various allegations of theological and argumentative inaccuracy against that Review; every periodical has the full right to determine for itself on the time of noticing an antagonist, or whether it shall notice him at all. But all honest men will agree with me, that where a question of *misrepresentation* is concerned, however unintentional such misrepresentation may have in the first instance been, the case is widely different.

Now, in my former Letter (p. 47, note,) I drew attention to a statement in the *Christian Remembrancer* that Father Newman's account "of the origin of the existing dogmatic Christianity" is "substantially identical" with that of a Mr. Ierson; who considers our Lord to have been "a mere preacher of natural religion," averse to dogmas of all sorts. This imputation was grounded on a single passage in Father Newman's recent Lectures. Altogether denying that his words could fairly bear such an interpretation, I drew attention however to another passage in the same Lectures; on which I observed, that "if Father Newman had been aware of Mr. Ierson's statement, and wished to express distinctly the precise *contradictory* to it, I see not how he could have used more explicit language." I then proceeded to say: "As several readers of the *Christian Remembrancer* may not have looked through Father Newman's Lectures, I cannot doubt that the Editor's sense of justice will lead him to insert this passage, when his attention is drawn to it; in order that his readers may judge for themselves how far he has truly represented Father Newman's doctrine." As soon as my pamphlet was published, I forwarded it to the Editor of the *Christian Remembrancer*; and I added

a private note, expressly drawing his attention to this comment of mine, and to no other part of the whole pamphlet. Two numbers of his periodical have since appeared, and not the slightest notice has been taken of my communication.

Now, here is an imputation brought against no ordinary person, of as "unspeakably disparaging" a nature (to use my former phrase,) as can well be conceived; it would be more true to say, of as "grossly calumnious:" though I was unwilling to use the word "*calumny*," in the then position of circumstances. The Editor, on being expressly applied to, will not so much as allow his readers (if he can help it) to *see* a passage of the same writer's, which has been alleged as in itself a sufficient refutation of such calumny. If such controversial tactics *are* to exist, may they ever continue in the undisputed possession of our opponents!

As soon as the present pamphlet is out, I shall also forward a copy of *it* to the Editor of the *Christian Remembrancer*; and shall again add a private note, drawing his attention to this Preface.

On looking over the sheets, I find that in p. 30 I have omitted reference to one of the *Guardian's* replies. I had said that "the Corinthians, who were endued with spiritual gifts, not unanalogous with the sort of gift enjoyed by a ruler of the Church as such, are represented distinctly as displaying worldliness and the love of display in the use of those very gifts; which yet were not, on that account, taken from them." The *Guardian* replies, that they were probably not ecclesiastical *rulers*; but it will be seen that I never said they were: their gifts however were what we call "*gratiae gratis datae*," and "*not unanalogous*" therefore, as I

said, "with the sort of gift enjoyed by a ruler of the Church, as such." The *Guardian* further replies that these were only "venial errors;" which certainly has force. For this reason, I wish to retract my citation of this passage; and had intended to say so in a note.

I have further to remark that, in p. 32, and I think elsewhere, I have cited an extract from the Fourth Notice, as being applied by my opponent to a statement of mine in pp. 95, 96 of my former Letter. On reading his words again, I am not sure whether he is not rather meaning to refer to a passage in pp. 85-87 of said Letter. If so (it is far from clear *which* is meant), I must withdraw my argument *ad hominem*, in p. 32.

May 20, 1851.

TO

THE EDITOR OF THE "GUARDIAN."

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SIR,

No one who has read your Notices of my last Letter will, I believe, consider me unduly sensitive in wishing to reply to them; to abstain from reply, might appear like admitting against myself the charge of great recklessness of statement, to say the least, on subjects of the utmost importance. At the same time, since you have expressed a wish to have done with the discussion at the earliest possible moment, as being one unsuited to your columns; and since, for my own part, I cannot but admit that to exhaust a personal controversy (as one may say) to its very dregs, is seldom a course productive of much advantage to the cause of truth; I shall endeavour, as much as possible, to avoid the introduction of all new matter, and confine myself to the necessary task, of vindicating the respective assaults which I have made upon your various arguments, and of defending my own position against your whole attack.

On one particular, however, I am compelled to depart from my general plan; and to produce a line of argument and quotation, which I had thought unnecessary. I never imagined certainly, that you would have called in question the undeviating and undoubting peremptoriness, wherewith the Fathers, as by one voice, proclaimed the principle, that professed heretics are external to the Church. I took this fact for granted, as one written so legibly and unmistakeably on the very surface of Church History, that no one had ever dreamt of denying it; and as a fact, moreover, to which your own friends had even been forward in drawing attention. Your review has shewn me my

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mistake; and has compelled me to express, distinctly and in shape, principles, which I had regarded as too obvious and elementary to require such statement.

In commenting (Fifth Notice) on a passage which I had quoted from St. Augustine, you speak of one consideration as "sufficient to dispose of" that passage; the consideration, namely, that St. Augustine considers the exclusion of a *merely mental* heretic from the Church, to be an "invisible operation, entirely independent of any external act of ecclesiastical discipline." So strangely are you unacquainted with the tenets professed by Catholics. For this very opinion, which you regard as so obviously and confessedly false, as to be sufficient in itself to invalidate the authority of a passage which asserts it, is, on the contrary, held by many of our most eminent theologians; while, as to a *professed* heretic, there is no single Catholic writer who holds any other. There is *no* Catholic writer, I say, who dreams even of calling in question this doctrine, that a professed heretic, as such, antecedently to, and independently of, any ecclesiastical censure, is *jure divino* external to the Church. That this, as it is the principle of the Catholic Church now, so has been her plain and undeviating principle from the Apostles downward, I had thought too obvious to require even illustration. The fact however, it seems, is otherwise; and I must therefore proceed to make some selection at least, from the vast body of proof on which this statement rests.

To begin with Apostolic times; on which a very few words will, I suppose, suffice. For, to say that a person might be a member of the *Apostolic* Church, and at the same time not profess belief in the Apostles' divine commission to teach,—this is an assertion, not so much false, as simply *unmeaning* and self-contradictory. Accordingly our blessed Saviour, in speaking of the future Church, speaks of "those who through *their* (the Apostles') *word* will *believe* in Me;" and early in the Acts the Church has already acquired the name which she is to retain until His second coming, the "*multitude of believers*" (Acts iv. 32), ("*multitudo credentium*;" in later times, "*coetus fidelium*"). It is, of course, quite consistent with such general acknowledgment of belief, that there may have been in some cases extreme intellectual obstinacy and perverseness, *e. g.* in refusing to admit

the equality of one Apostle with the rest, or in choosing not to see that such or such doctrine has been really *taught* by the Apostles;\* nay that there may have been, on the part of some, much dishonesty, in claiming an Apostle's sanction for what they knew was *contrary* to his teaching. Much more is it consistent even with the sincerest belief in the Apostles' divine mission, that many may have been deplorably ignorant of some among the most elementary doctrines, with which (as I observed in my last Letter) these holy men were but slowly and gradually leavening the collective mind of the Church. But to suppose that a person could go further than this, and plainly express himself as disbelieving the Apostles' infallible authority, in what they set forth as the doctrine they were commissioned to teach;—that a person could be known to profess this, and yet be reckoned as a member of the Christian Church until excommunicated;—this is a statement, which it is only necessary to place in the concrete before our imagination, in order that we may see its simple absurdity.

On Apostolic times, then, it cannot be necessary to add another word. That in those early days, the governors of the Church were united in their judgment as to what was, and what was not, part of the Christian Faith; and that any who should dream of questioning such their concordant decision, would be, by the very force of the terms, external to the Church;—this is a fact, which no one can doubt, who believes in the divine origin of Christianity at all. And if it be admitted, as I argued at some length in my former Letter, that in respect of the Rule of Faith, the subsequent Church was simply a continuation of the Apostolic;—that the Gospel message, after the death of St. John, no less than at the Day of Pentecost, was simply to hear the voice of the living infallible Church;—then my statement is as self-evident in regard to post-Apostolic times, as in regard to Apostolic. But in arguing with you, sir, of course I am *not* entitled to take this position for granted: rather the facts which I am about to adduce, will afford additional strength to my proof of the position itself; if, indeed, additional proof be possible in

\* Of these heretics of Apostolic times, more particular mention will be made further on.

behalf of a conclusion, which appears to me already as transparently evident as any historical conclusion can possibly be.

I affirm, then, that from the very earliest times it has been a first principle, a theological axiom, with the Christian Fathers, that a professed heretic is *ipso facto* external to the Church. It is impossible, I should have thought, for any one ever so moderately versed in their writings, to have been blind to this; nor did I ever hear of one who had deeply studied them, whose conviction of the same fact was not deep and undoubting in proportion to such study. So obvious indeed do I consider this to be, that my reason (as I have already said) for not insisting on it, was the very same, for which, in the patristic writings, it is far oftener assumed and taken for granted, than expressly stated; namely, that it never even occurred to me that you could dream of denying it. My only difficulty is, out of the multitude of proof which throngs on the mind, to select the most forcible and pregnant, in order that unnecessary length may be avoided.

I am not, of course, endeavouring to lay down the principle, on which the Fathers would pronounce this or that doctrine to *be* heresy. Nor again am I determining the question, for instance, how great a proof of *obstinacy* they would require, before dealing with an individual *as* a heretic. Nor yet am I in any way opposing myself to Father Perrone's assertion, (which indeed is evident enough on the very surface of History,) that while many tenets on their first promulgation are perceived to be heretical, many others, on the contrary, are not so regarded before the Church has condemned them.\* I am merely saying, that from the moment (whenever it is) that this or that person is regarded as a professed heretic, from that precise moment, and as a part of the same judgment not separable in idea from the former, he is regarded as external to the Church.

The first illustration I may bring forward, to bring home to your mind how deeply-seated and pervasive a principle of the Church this has ever been, will be the very meaning of the word 'Catholic.' Your own theologian Bull (if authority be wanting on so plain a matter,) states, that this term began to be in uni-

\* Perrone *de locis theologicis*, sec. 339.

versal use from the time of St. Polycarp.\* Now what is meant in ecclesiastical and primitive language by the word 'Catholic?' It means two things; an orthodox believer, and a member of the Catholic Church: therefore these two things are co-extensive. Take it another way. Will you maintain yourself, that any early Christian could have spoken of an *heretical Catholic*? Are not the two mutually contradictory? On the other hand, every member of the Catholic Church was a Catholic: this, again, you will not deny. But if every member of the Catholic Church was a Catholic; and no heretic was a Catholic; no heretic was a member of the Catholic Church. (*Camestres.*) Q.E.D. This is one of those many obvious marks, which prove the identity of the Catholic Church in every age. Members of your party are compelled to speak of "Catholic-minded" members of your Establishment, as opposed to "heretically-minded;" or sometimes, more boldly, to speak of those who agree with you as *Catholics*, in contradistinction to those who do not; or occasionally even to make mention of the Catholic *party* in your body. But to call Dr. Hampden *e. g.* a Catholic, though he is a most undeniable member of your communion, is what your boldest champions have not ventured to do. Can any thing be in more preposterous opposition to the whole current of Antiquity, than the idea that a branch of the Catholic Church can possess members, who are not Catholics?

Secondly, let me, following Bellarmine, allude to the habitual expression, in the early Fathers, of "coming from any heresy into the Church," as shewing how completely, as a matter of course, Church membership was considered as a state *inconsistent* with open heresy. In the controversy on heretical Baptism, for instance, St. Stephen's well-known judgment runs, "if any one come to us from *whatever heresy, &c.*" Indeed I suppose it is hardly too much to say, that one cannot open a single treatise of any length, written by any one among the Fathers, without seeing some such opposition expressed between the Church and heresy. The Church on the one side; schism and heresy on the other side, as her two great and avowed enemies;

\* *Judicium Ecclesie Catholice*, cap. vi. s. 14.



such is the picture presented, in every detail which has come down to us of primitive times: schism, whereby the individual *separates himself*,—heresy, whereby he becomes *jure divino separate*,—from the visible Body of Christ.

Thirdly, the same truth is irresistibly impressed on us, the more we read of the treatment received by individual heresiarchs, at the hands of the great Doctors of the Church; who, as a matter of course, and indeed as the very symbol of their regarding them as heretics, avoided their communion, without so much as dreaming that any formal excommunication by authority was previously necessary. This fact is brought out most sharply of course, in those instances where heretics were at once perceived to be such, previously to the Church's judgment; because, in the contrary case, the same authority which condemned the heresy, proceeded at once to excommunicate its continued upholders. And yet even this latter class of cases has great force in the present argument, from the matter-of-course way in which the sentence of excommunication accompanies the judgment of heresy; not as being a further matter of deliberation, but as the natural and direct consequence of the former step.\* But let me speak of one or two instances from the other class of cases; which are to be considered however merely in the light of *samples*, which might be almost indefinitely multiplied, of a large whole.

I begin with Paul of Samosata; and with the Synodical Letter of the Second Council of Antioch, which deposed him from his bishopric. This letter first mentions, that the Bishops of the Council had begged St. Dionysius of Alexandria to be present with them; and that he, in return, addressed a letter to Antioch: but that as to Paul, "the originator of error," St. Dionysius "did not think him worthy of so much as a salutation, nor of being personally addressed." This, you observe, was prior to any excommunication or deposition. The Council presently proceeds, in reference to Paul's wicked life: "But since, *departing from the rule of faith*, he has moved over to spurious and adulterate doctrine, of him [thus] *external [to the Church]* there is no need

\* To prevent misconception, it should be mentioned, that our theologians regard a sentence of excommunication as inflicting many spiritual penalties on the offender, over and above the mere fact of his being external to the Church.

to examine the *actions*." Having proceeded however to enlarge on his vices, the Bishops proceed :

" But for these things, as we said before, any one might call in question a man who had a Catholic spirit, and *was numbered with ourselves*; but this man, who has *renounced the mystery* [of the faith], and has *fallen into the foul heresy* of Artemas . . . . of him we consider it is not necessary to ask account of these things . . . . Paul, therefore, *having fallen from his bishopric at the same time with [his fall from] his orthodoxy of faith*, Domnus has received the administration of the Church in Antioch," &c.\*

And this contrast between heresy and immorality, you will observe, is expressed at the very time, when the penitential discipline of the Church existed in its fullest rigour.

As a second example, we may take the language used in regard to Arius, before the Nicene Council was held, or any thing else, which professed to be a solemn judgment binding on the whole Church. Look at the Encyclical Letter, for instance, of St. Alexander, then Patriarch of Alexandria; from which I will quote one or two passages, as indications of the general spirit. He speaks at starting of Arius and his followers, as men "*qui ab Ecclesiâ desciverant*," "*qui ab Ecclesiâ defecerunt*," "*defecerunt a Christo*;" all of them phrases which plainly express, that he regarded them as having *by their own act* left the Church. But their own act was only the profession of heresy; their separation from visible communion with the Alexandrian Church, took place very much against their will: their heresy itself, then, is characterised by the Saint, as a departure from the Church. Presently he proceeds :

"To Arius, therefore, and his favourers who assert these things, together with those who assent to his opinion, we, with nearly a hundred Bishops of Egypt and Libya, coming together, have denounced anathema. But Eusebius admits them to his communion (*ad se admittit*), and sedulously labours to mix together *falsehood with truth*, and impiety with piety. But he has not strength sufficient to do this; for *truth prevails*, and *there is no fellowship for light with darkness, no agreement of Christ with Belial*. For who ever heard such doctrines? or who is there who, if he did hear them, would not be stupified with horror?" &c.

\* This is translated from the Greek of Eusebius.

What can possibly be plainer here, than that the Saint's ardent invectives against Eusebius are grounded, not on the censure against Arius passed by the hundred African Bishops, but on the intrinsic unlawfulness of ecclesiastical communion with heretics? And this is even more expressly stated in the sequel; for having enlarged on the odious falsehood of their doctrine, he concludes: "We, therefore, since we heard their impiety with our own ears, not without reason have denounced anathema to men of that class, and have publicly declared them external to (alienos à) *the Catholic Church and faith.*" You see, these two ideas, the Catholic Church and the Catholic faith, are so indissolubly connected in his mind, that he who is external to the one, is regarded by him as being, *ipso facto*, external to the other also.

I will take my third and last instance from the Nestorian heresy; and from two documents connected with that heresy, to which Bellarmine alludes, with a purpose somewhat similar to my own. These documents are Pope St. Celestine's respective letters, to the clergy and people of Constantinople, and to John Bishop of Antioch. In the first of these letters, the holy Pope pronounces as follows:

"The authority of our See has expressly defined, that no one, whether bishop, or cleric, or private Christian, who has been deprived either of place or communion by Nestorius or others like him, *since they began to preach such things,*" are really so deprived: "for *he could neither depose nor remove any one, who himself, in preaching such things, left his position of safety.*"

And in like manner, in the other letter:

"But if any one has been either excommunicated or deprived of his dignity by Nestorius and his followers, *since they began to preach such things,* it is clear that he both has remained, and does remain, in our communion, nor do we judge him to have been removed; for *the sentence of him who had become a fit object himself for removal, could not remove any one else.*"

In other words, from the moment he began to profess heresy, and previously to any sentence of deposition, his episcopal jurisdiction was lost.

Fourthly, I will cite various passages, taken almost at random from Waterworth's citations on the Unity of the Church, as expressing in every different shape the deep conviction unanimously held by the Fathers, of this elementary truth; the truth that the Church consists only of orthodox believers. These I will preface, by a short extract from the 10th chapter of Ballerini's well-known work, *De vi ac ratione Primatús*; which, I cannot but think, will commend itself to all fair minds, as a true account of the principles professed by the early Fathers: whatever further conclusions they may or may not think deducible from this fact. His patristic citations also are to be considered as part of my case.

"The external and visible Church," he says, "is that, in which all Christians, both bad and good, are united by the bond of love and of communion, *into the same fellowship of faith*. Its Unity, therefore, so far as it closely concerns the whole body of the Church and each individual member, depends chiefly on two particulars: on *faith*, which is one in all; and on love, in the bond of which all are united together.\*

"But the Church is *chiefly* one, in regard to her *faith*; inasmuch as all Christians profess one and the same faith. '*Faith*,' says St. Ambrose (*Lib. de Incarn. c. 5.*) '*is the foundation of the Church*;' but *the foundation of one building must be one*. By this Unity of faith the Fathers recognised the Church. Tertullian, in his work *De Præscriptionibus*, called all the churches diffused over all the world, *one*, 'because all *holding the same faith, all prove the one Unity*.' In like manner Theodoret: 'All the churches in common are bound together in one, *because of their agreement in the ancient doctrines*;' and the ancient author of the commentary on the 23d Psalm: 'The Church is made up of many persons, but is called one, *because of the Unity of its faith*.' Euthemius: 'If you look at their abodes, the churches are many; if you look at their religion and communion of faith, all the churches every where make up *one Church of be-*

\* "By love here is meant," adds the author, "not the love wherewith as men we are bound to love each other;" nor again, I may add, Christian charity, for he has already spoken of both bad and good Christians as being in the Church; "but that special grace, whereby Christians adhere to pastors and bishops, who are divided by no schism or variety of doctrine."

*lievers.*' Athanasius Sinaita: 'Let the waters be gathered together, which, from diverse peoples and nations and sects, *are gathered under the Unity of faith.*' But to preserve this Unity of faith, Unity of communion is requisite also, &c."

So far Ballerini and his authorities. Now for Mr. Waterworth, in whose first volume are the following citations.

St. Ignatius Martyr: "Do ye then . . . flee division and *corrupt doctrines* . . . for there be *many wolves*, but *in your Unity they shall have no place*" (p. 124).

St. Irenæus: "*The whole Church has one and the same faith throughout the whole world.*"

"Neither do the churches founded in Germany, nor those in Spain, in Gaul, &c. *believe or deliver a different faith*" (p. 126).

"Those who are *out of the truth, that is, out of the Church*" (p. 129).

St. Hegesippus: "From these [heretics] sprang false Christs, false prophets, false apostles, who *severed the unity of the Church with counterfeit teaching* against God and His Christ" (p. 130).

St. Clement of Alexandria: "The ancient and Catholic Church is alone, *collecting through one Lord into the unity of the one faith*" (p. 131).

Tertullian: "We and they (East and West) have *one faith*, one God, the same Christ, the same hope, the same sacrament of Baptism; *to say all at once, we are one Church*" (p. 133).

Origen: "The whole Church of God is Christ's body, animated by the Son of God; and *all they who are believers are members of that same body, as of a whole.*"

St. Cyprian, quoting the words of others: "For though we appeared to hold as it were some sort of communion with a schismatic and a *heretic*, yet our mind was always sincerely *in the Church*" (p. 138).

St. Hilary: "All heretics then advance against the Church; but . . . their victory over each other, is *the Church's triumph over all*; since heresy combats in some other heresy, just so far as that which *the faith of the Church* condemns in that other heresy . . . they assert *our faith* while opposing each other" (p. 155).

St. Optatus: "You, Parmenianus, *have said that the Church is one, to the exclusion of heretics*; but you have not chosen to acknowledge where that Church is . . . *it is for me to state which or where is that one Church*" (p. 158).

Lucifer of Cagliari: "Whether Jews, or heathens, or *you heretics that are without the Church*, ye are without God, as once were all who

were not in holy Noah's ark. For as they, being *out of the ark*, could not be saved, so *neither can you*; but, like them, ye will perish, unless, *believing in the only Son of God, ye be found remaining together with us in the holy Church*" (p. 163).

I may refer also, among other Catholic authorities, to the chapter on heresy, in Klee's work on the *History of Christian Doctrines*. His whole series of quotations from the Fathers, as to the point of view in which they regarded heretics, will bring, if possible, additional conviction to the mind on the matter before us. As directly to the point, I will take St. Clement of Alexandria, who says—(I quote from the French translation of Klee, p. 167):—

“Whereas there are three conditions of the mind—ignorance, opinion, knowledge: they who are in *ignorance* are *the Gentiles*; they who are in *knowledge* are *the true Church*; they who are in *opinion* are *the heretics* (*οἱ κατὰ τὰς αἰρέσεις*).”

Where, you see, he both contradistinguishes heretics from the Church, and says of the latter that *all* her members have true knowledge.

My fifth and last head shall be from the admission of opponents. Thus, Jurieu is quoted by Billuart as having admitted that the Fathers were directly opposed to his own tenets on faith and the Church; for that “the Fathers and all the faithful of the first centuries understood under the name of the Catholic Church, only that one communion, from which all heretics, at least all professed heretics, were excluded.” I have no means of verifying this citation; and I give it, therefore, on Billuart's authority.\*

My remaining authorities under this head will be such, as have a special weight *ad hominem*, against one, sir, of your sentiments. And first I will take Bull's little work, called *Judicium Ecclesiæ Catholicæ*, &c.; the argument of which naturally leads him over the ground we are now upon, and the whole spirit

\* Billuart *de Regulis Fidei Diss.* iii. art. 2. sec. 4. I should add however, that, since writing the above, I have happened to see the work of a Catholic opponent of Jurieu's; and I cannot help doubting whether Billuart has truly represented the latter.

of which, from first to last, is eminently corroborative of what I have been saying. Individual passages will indeed give but an inadequate impression of the degree in which this is the case; yet several of them will sufficiently bear out my assertion. Thus, in chap. 2, towards the end of sec. 9, the author speaks of those "who denied the divinity of Christ our Lord, and who, on that account, were held by the Apostles in the light of *heretics*, and therefore of *antichrists*, so far were they from being judged brethren and *real members of the Church*." Again, in the 6th chapter, 14th section, Bull observes, "*Rightly*, therefore, Valesius says: ' . . . in order that the *true and genuine Church of Christ* might be distinguished from the polluted (*adulterinis*) assemblies of *heretics*, the name of Catholic Church was given to the Church of *orthodox men alone (soli orthodoxorum Ecclesiæ)*.' " And earlier, in the 3d section of the 3d chapter, Bull himself calls the Church "*cœtus fidelium*." Again, in the appendix to the 7th chapter, section 5, he tells us that St. Justin counted certain men "among impious heretics, with whom neither he nor the Catholic Church had any communion." Once more: in the 8th section of the 2d chapter he thus paraphrases a passage of St. Ignatius Martyr: "Those who say that our Lord was made man only in appearance, are Christians only in appearance." And in the 3d section of the same chapter he points out "how estranged from the Church of Christ (*quam alieni ab Ecclesiâ Christi*) those were esteemed who taught" the doctrine of Cerinthus and Ebion. Nothing however, as I began with saying, will give you so vivid an idea of the degree in which Bull's whole mind is penetrated with this view of the Church, as reading through the whole of this little volume.

In the same connexion, let me adduce a passage from a pamphlet of Mr. Gladstone's, which I quoted in an earlier part of my last Letter; and which I should assuredly have quoted again in its bearing on my present position, had I imagined you dreamt of denying it.

"A certain body of revealed truth," says Mr. Gladstone, "has been given by God to man, and defined in an intelligible manner for his use, which it is not only the specific office, but the divine commission, of the Church to teach. Now, if these things be true, then to propose that

the faith and its opposite in any particular article shall be placed on equal terms, within the precinct and by the law of the Church, is simply to demand that *she shall betray her office*. It is precisely (however startling the comparison may appear) what it would be relatively to the marriage state, to enact that fidelity might be maintained in it, but that adultery might also be practised in it at the option of the parties. It is a process to which, if the early Church would have submitted, she need never have seen her children mangled in the jaws of lions, or writhing on the stake or in the flame. But then it is also a process *which would have turned the dwelling-place of the living God into a Pantheon*. It is, therefore, that which simply could not be; because it is contrary to the words, which His hand had graven upon the rock with a pen of iron: The gates of hell, &c."—*Gladstone on the Supremacy*, pp. 77, 78.

And finally, the document put forth by the leading members of your party on the Gorham case, speaks trumpet-tongued against such a notion as yours.

"Resolution 4. That to admit the lawfulness"—the lawfulness, that is of course (as the context shews,) according to *the Church's law*, or consistently with Church communion—"of holding an exposition of an article of the Creed contradictory to the essential meaning of that article, is, in truth and in fact, to abandon that article.

"Resolutions 6 and 7. That any portion of the Church which *does* so abandon the essential meaning of an article in the Creed forfeits . . . the office and authority to witness and to teach as a member of the universal Church, and *becomes formally separated from the Catholic body*."

Such are some of the propositions, most solemnly and deliberately enunciated by men of no less name among you, than Archdeacons Manning, Wilberforce, and Thorp; Rev. Drs. Mill and Pusey; Rev. Messrs. Keble and Bennett; Messrs. Cavendish, Badeley, James Hope, and Talbot.\* How do they stand in comparison with yours?

II. This truth then, of the intrinsic opposition, according to all primitive tenets, between heresy and Church-membership, being both so legibly and unmistakeably written on the very surface of Scripture and Church History, and also so distinctly

\* Since writing the above, the joyful news has arrived, which prevents me from using *two* of the above names in argument against you.



recognised by your own authorities,—no fair person can be surprised at its never having occurred to my mind that you dreamed of calling it in question; unless, indeed, your own language to that effect had been very direct and precise. But so far from this being the case, your language strongly *confirmed* my natural impression, that whatever else you might call in question, you at least admitted this plain historical fact. In reply to my observation, that “the prevalence of immorality within the Church\* is a totally different phenomenon from the prevalence of heresy within her, in its bearing on the notes of her divinity,” you maintained as follows :

“We confess ourselves unable to see . . . any indication that the practice and enforcement of holiness are merely commanded, while truth and distinctness of doctrine alone are made conditions of Christian privileges and tests of a true Church. All are commanded—*all are promised—all are conditions of receiving God's blessings*; in all alike the history of the Church compels us to acknowledge, how far the *gracious intentions* of the Almighty *have been frustrated* by the perverseness of man; how much His long-suffering has abated from the awfulness of His threatenings.”—*Anglo-Romanism*, No. V.

Now I suppose any one would have inferred from this, just what I inferred; viz. that you did not deny the fact of doctrinal purity and orthodoxy having been “promised to the Church,” and having been an essential “condition of receiving” those “blessings of God” which were covenanted to that Church;—that your reply, I say, did not turn on *denying* the obligation of *orthodoxy*, but on *affirming* the *equal* obligation of “the practice and enforcement of holiness.” Any one, in fact, would have understood you to mean: “Granted that, according to the letter of the Gospel promises, the Anglican Church is not divine; yet, according to the same letter, the ‘Roman’ Church is not divine either: for morality is no less obligatory than faith; and the former Church has not transgressed more against faith, than the latter has against morality. Either, therefore, the Catholic Church has failed altogether, or the same reasoning which exempts from this sentence you (who are Roman) exempts also us

\* I used the word “Church” here, as the context shews, abstracting from “true” or “false” Church.

(who are Anglican). And for my own part, I (the Editor of the *Guardian*) embrace the latter alternative, and consider that the Catholic Church has *not* failed. Not that I can hope to prove this by any reference to the original Gospel Covenant, but because I consider that 'God's long-suffering has' greatly 'abated from the awfulness of His threatenings.'"

Such was the construction I put on your defence, and which, as I believe, any man in the world of sound mind *would* have put upon it. Accordingly, in order to meet this defence, first of all (as I mentioned in my Preface), "I greatly enlarged the sixth section of my Letter," and wrote much of the seventh; with the view of shewing, as a matter of principle, the essential difference between those two things which you wished to confound, in their bearing on the Church's office. And, in the second place, I adduced quotations from Scripture and the Fathers to shew, as I thought in opposition to you, that the admixture of evil men with good in the Church was recognised from the first; and was therefore no transgression whatever of the original Gospel Covenant.

In regard to this last part of my undertaking, then, conceive my astonishment, when I find you dismissing as "*palpably* irrelevant all those passages which merely shew that the Church does not forfeit her character by the toleration of bad men." (Fifth Notice.) Why, if words have any meaning, and implications any force, it was your distinct argument, that the toleration of bad men on a large scale by the Church, was inconsistent with that "practice and enforcement of holiness" which is "promised" to the Church, and which is "a condition of receiving God's blessings;" and that in allowing the Catholic Church to remain at all gifted with His presence after such dereliction of duty, God's "long-suffering has" greatly "abated from the awfulness of His threatenings."

I will now turn from the mere personal argument, to the merits of the question. I entreat the reader to look back on the evidence I have adduced, as to the relation which existed in early times between *heretics* and the Church; and then to contrast with it the language I brought together in my last Letter, from some few of the Fathers, on the admixture of *evil men* with

good in her bosom. Origen says, that there are *always* in the Church, not vessels of mercy only, but *vessels of wrath*; that God's treasure [*i. e.* good men] is not brought to light until the *time of judgment*; that in her, as in Noah's ark, there is a multitude of wild beasts, "whose wild savageness the sweetness of faith has not been able to tame." St. Pacian says, that the Church is a closed garden, *full of all herbs, vile and precious*. Theodoret, that the Church contains those "*who have embraced a dissolute life*." St. Cyprian, that among great numbers of Catholics "persons in high places were swollen with contemptuousness, poisoned reproaches fell from their mouths, and men *were sundered by unabating quarrels*; ties of marriage were formed with unbelievers; *not only rash swearing was heard but false*; numerous bishops hunted the markets for mercantile profits, and *took possession of estates by fraudulent proceedings*." Lastly, St. Augustine, that within the Church "the good are but *few* in comparison with the bad;" and that "evil men *generally*, when known, are endured" within the Church "for the sake of the peace of unity." I alluded further to testimonies from St. Chrysostom and Salvian to the same effect: but it is unnecessary to say more on them, because in your reply you fully admit, as we shall presently see, that the practice of the Church, from the time of Constantine downward, was that of which you disapprove.

Before going further however, I must answer such objections as you take to certain of these citations. On those from Origen and Theodoret you make no comment, beyond the strange one above alluded to, that they are "palpably irrelevant." The former citation, even on your own shewing, you have no right to call irrelevant; for Origen *does* draw the very contrast between belief and practice which is at issue between us. "In the Church," he says, "*though all are contained within one faith . . . yet [there is a] multitude of*" savage "beasts."

Your treatment of St. Cyprian's passage is very remarkable. You draw attention to the holy Bishop's expression, that the ministers "*were wanting in entireness of faith*;" and you say that this "*negatives the very contrast between belief and practice which it is adduced to establish*:" in fact, you gravely maintain that St. Cyprian accuses these ministers of actual heresy. And

this, though the words immediately preceding must have been actually before you as you wrote: "forgetting," says the Saint, "both what was the conduct of *believers* under the Apostles, and what *ought to be their conduct* in every age, they" act in such and such a way; "the priests wanting in religious devotedness, the ministers in entireness of faith." Whatever then is meant by this last phrase, nothing in the world can be more transparently evident, than that it is a fault imputed by the Saint to *believers*.

If faith *is* to be taken here in the sense of belief, I need hardly say that men may be "wanting in *entireness* of faith" who are far short of actual heresy. Thus, in my first Letter to you, I speak of certain "unhappy circumstances," fully consistent however, as I there maintain, with the Catholicity of a Church, under which "we find a deep-seated heretical spirit gaining ground among the people, which may any day break out into express and open heresy" (pp. 6, 7). The people under these circumstances are certainly "wanting in entireness of faith." But if I may venture to express an opinion, grounded on my limited acquaintance with St. Cyprian's writings, I incline to think that the word "*faith*" here does not mean simple *belief* at all, but *realisation of things believed*. This is certainly a sense in which St. Cyprian frequently uses it; and I will subjoin one instance of his doing so,—it occurs at the end of his treatise on the Lapsed.

"It is thus," he says, "that *the vigour of our faith has waxed faint*, and the strength of the *believers* languished; and hence the Lord, looking to our times, says in His Gospel, 'When the Son of man cometh, shall He find *faith* on the earth?' *We see come to pass that which He foretold. In the fear of God, in the law of righteousness, in love, in good works, our faith is naught.* No man, from fear of things to come, gives heed to the day of the Lord and the anger of God; none *considers* the punishments which will come on the unbelieving, and the eternal torments appointed to the faithless. What our conscience would fear if it *believed*, that, because nowise *believing*, it fears not: if it believed, it would take heed; if it took heed, it would escape. *Let us awaken ourselves*, dearest brethren, what we can, and *breaking off the slumber of our old slothfulness*, let us be watching for the observance and fulfilment of the Lord's commands. . . . Let us ever, in anxiety and cau-

tiousness, be awaiting the sudden advent of the Lord, that, when He knocketh, *our faith* may be on the watch, and gain from the Lord the reward of its watchfulness.”—*Oxford Trans.* p. 149.

I think few will doubt, that this passage gives the best of all comments on the same writer's sentiment, that “the ministers are wanting in entireness of faith.” That this phrase at all events does not imply heresy, is literally undeniable; as I pointed out above. And I may add, that I cannot conceive any one reading through the Oxford volume of St. Cyprian's works, without being struck with the fact, how deeply and undoubtingly it was received by the Saint, as a first principle, that heretics are essentially and necessarily external to the Church.

As to St. Augustine, since you call in question the fact of *his* regarding heretics as external to the Church; and since, from the reason above mentioned, I never thought of adducing evidence to *this* point; I had better at once supply the omission.

To do this, nothing more is necessary than to consult the index of that Father's works. We find there as follows: Hæretici “non sunt in Ecclesiâ,” “ad Ecclesiam non pertinent,” “extra Ecclesiam sunt,” “unde Catholicâ communione exclusi?” “aliquando boni *sub hæresis aut schismatis nomine* ab Ecclesiâ expelluntur,” (the old opposition between the Church on the one hand, and heresy and schism on the other,) “apud hæreticos nomine tenus non revera est Christus,” “hæresis Ecclesiâ posterior,” “hæreses omnes de Ecclesiâ exierunt,” “hæreticis objici vult Aug. quod Catholici non sint,” “hæretici omnibus modis *ad Ecclesiam* revocandi,” “quomodo *in Ecclesiam* recipiendi,” “hæreticis *ad Ecclesiam* redeuntibus,” &c. &c. I have looked at all these citations, and found that the passages mean what they appear to mean.

There are undoubtedly expressions in the index, which read at first sight on the other side; but these, when referred to, literally strengthen my case. I subjoin here *every one* of them which I have observed.

“Hæresis prima *in discipulis Christi* orta.” This passage, on being referred to, is found to regard those who, having heard His discourse contained in John vi., “*separated themselves from Him.*” (In Ps. liv. 22.)

“Hæretici quomodo ad populum Dei pertineant.” The Saint is expressly speaking of those, “qui se dividunt ab unitate,” and come to be “in hæresi et in schismate;” and of these he says, “ad populum Dei pertinent, etsi non per virtutem, certe per speciem pietatis.” (In Ps. cvii. 39.)\*

“Hæretici ad communionem non inquinant.” The Saint is speaking of *converted* heretics, received to Communion without any reiteration of Baptism. (De Baptismo, lib. vii. c. 7.)

“Hæretici quidam in magnâ Ecclesiæ domo:” in allusion to St. Paul’s language, 2 Tim. ii. 20; which text the Saint understands of those, whose “speech spreadeth like a canker” (v. 17). He says:

“Of whom, *although the Apostle said that they should be avoided*, yet he signifies, that they are in ‘one great House’—I suppose, because they had not *yet* departed out (foras exierunt); or if they *had* now gone out, how does he say that they are in the same House? unless, perhaps, because of the Sacraments themselves, which are not changed, *even in the separated conventicles of the heretics?*”—*De Baptismo*, lib. iii. c. 26.

This passage also, like those previously quoted, when viewed in its context, makes as distinctly on my side as the clearest of those I quoted in my own favour. First, I must observe that the phrase “hæretici quidam” is due solely to the compiler of the index, and is not used by St. Augustine. And secondly, I affirm that whoever will read through the 15th and 16th previous chapters, will not be able to entertain a shadow of doubt, that the words “foras exire” are used by the Saint, as precisely tantamount with “becoming a professed heretic;” which is my exact point. The words “hæretici et schismatici” are used almost in every chapter as synonymous with “men external to the Church;” and the following passage from c. 22, draws in terms the very contrast for which I have throughout been contending.

“Him who is in heresy or schism (in hæresi aut schismate constitutum) the prayers of the Saints will not be able to assist; as neither can

\* There is one citation, “hæretici quomodo quidam in Ecclesiâ,” which I have been quite unable to discover. The passage referred to contains nothing of the sort. There is probably some misprint.

they assist him who is *within* [the Church] [*intus* positum], if, by a *most evil life*, he keep against himself the debt of his sins.”

Immediately before the reference, above quoted, to 2 Tim. ii. 20, he is speaking of those who have *sympathy* with heresy, and are estranged in *spirit* from the Church, even before they openly *leave* the latter by the *profession* of the former; and he says that those referred to by St. Paul, if they *were* really in the Church, (the Apostle’s “in magnâ domo”), must have been such. Not improbably however, he adds, they *had* already left the Church by such profession; and were said by the Apostles only *figuratively* to be “in magnâ domo,” because “*even in the separated conventicles of heretics,*” the same Sacraments are preserved.

In reference to St. Augustine’s interpretation of this text, it should be added, that in a passage of the following book (lib. iv. c. 18), not unfrequently cited in controversy, the Saint mentions that, except for his (mistaken) idea that the authority of St. Cyprian was on the other side, he should have thought that those “whose speech spreadeth like a canker” *were* external to the Church: “vellem intelligere foris fuisse, sed Cyprianus ipse non sinit.” In this passage also, as in the former, precisely *because* he supposes they were not thus external, he takes for granted also that they were not professed heretics; and insists on the text merely as shewing the admixture of evil men with good within the Church. I need hardly say that I am not *defending* St. Augustine’s interpretation of the text; he himself regards it as a forced one, into which he was compelled by St. Cyprian’s supposed authority. But I am quite sure that no one can read the context as a whole, and deny that his meaning *is* substantially such as I have represented.\*

I have now cited every one of those expressions in the index to St. Augustine’s works which I could observe, that had the

\* This Scriptural text, with St. Cyprian’s and St. Augustine’s comments, is frequently handled by our writers, from the circumstance, that this latter extract from St. Augustine is almost the only passage in the patristic writings, which can possibly be interpreted as implying the compatibility of heresy with Church membership. As to the text itself, and St. Cyprian’s comment, they are most easily disposed of: see *Bellarmino de Ecclesiâ*, lib. iii. c. 4. Bellarmine also cites, from the self-same epistle of St. Cyprian, the simple words; “Novatian, because he is a heretic, is outside the Church.”

*prima facie* appearance of militating against the doctrine I am defending. And the result of my examination has been, that they do but corroborate those most clear statements elsewhere made by him, that "heretics are not in the Church;" "do not pertain to the Church;" "are outside the Church;" are "to be invited back into the Church;" &c. &c., which I have put down above. On the other hand, while such is his language about heretics, his language about wicked believers is as directly contradictory as can be well imagined. This (which alone I fancied to be denied by you) I proved with even a superabundance of evidence in my last Letter. I shewed that those Scriptural passages on which you principally relied, were not considered by St. Augustine as applicable *at all* to the Church Militant. I pointed out that he regarded the good men in the Church, as "*few* in comparison with the bad;" for that "*commonly*" bad men, "known to be such, were freely endured therein for the sake of the peace of unity." I added lastly, that "I might most easily multiply examples from" this holy Father, as indeed I easily might a thousandfold; but that "none could be plainer than those I adduced" (p. 91). My readers will be anxious to see how you attempt to confront these allegations.

You leave the above passages absolutely untouched; on the ground that they do not draw in terms a *contrast* between belief and practice: and you confine yourself to the following, which does so.

"Then any one is *unfruitful*, and [nevertheless] not as yet cut off from the rest, when with evil desire he does evil works; but when, for the sake of those very works, he shall have begun [in his mind] to oppose that most evident truth whereby he is reprov'd, then he is cut off."

On this passage you take two exceptions. First you say, that it contains no general statement that *all* heresy excludes from the Church, but only that one very aggravated kind of heresy does so (Fifth Notice): and in the following Notice, you refer back to the same passage; *thrusting* on it (as I may say) this most gratuitous interpretation. This is just a specimen of the petty cavilling on particulars, of which I have to complain all through your criticism. You take no pains to discover, how far your interpretation fairly represents the mind



of the Saint; you adduce no passage, whether from him, or from any other ancient writer, to shew that they even *dreamt* of such a distinction as you draw; you are contented with the first hypothetical explanation which offers itself, of one isolated passage; careless about harmonising it with others, or with the general principles of the writer. The extracts I have now brought together are sufficient, I suppose, to satisfy even yourself, that the Saint is *not* here making any such special distinctions as you invent for his benefit; but that he is simply applying a general principle, which he clearly, undeviatingly, habitually, acknowledged.

Your second criticism on this passage is a controversial wonder. The Saint is contrasting two things, as you admit: one, a man's doing evil actions; the other, his "*opposing in his mind that most evident truth* whereby he is reprov'd." You mention however, that St. Augustine does not in terms say "*evil* actions," but "*the works* spoken of in Gal. v. 19, 20, 21;" and you proceed to point out, that St. Paul's catalogue includes "*idolatry*" and "*heresies,*" among a number of other evil works. Hence you infer, that St. Augustine had this fact distinctly in his mind when he wrote, and meant specifically to include heresy among the evil works on which he was speaking. When you are able to explain, how the contrast drawn by St. Augustine has so much as any conceivable *meaning* on this supposition;—how it is so much as logically *possible*, that a person *can* intellectually embrace heresy, *without* "*opposing in his mind the truth*" which is contradictory to that heresy;—you will have shewn, not indeed that your interpretation is reasonable or probable, but that it is not posterous and self-contradictory.

Finally, you urge that the conclusion of St. Augustine from which you dissent is "*perhaps less forcibly proved*" than that with which you agree; and [penultimate paragraph of Fifth Notice] that his argument from Scripture *ought* to have led him to a conclusion, which however he did *not* embrace. Is it necessary to express in words the very elementary and commonplace principle, that the Fathers are cited in controversy, not for the value of their *argument* (whatever that may be), but as exponents of Tradition and of the voice of their contemporary.

Church? Their *arguments* are their *own*; their *doctrines* were (more or less distinctly) prescribed by *authority*. I am not admitting however the justice of your criticism on St. Augustine's argument; I am only pointing out, how simply and undeniably any such criticism is beside the question.

In your conclusion, you speak of an "appearance of unprofitable special pleading which you have been unable to escape" in your Notices; and certainly your way of dealing with St. Cyprian's and St. Augustine's testimony is a signal instance of this. You say that this appearance on your part, is owing to the existence on mine of "sophistical ambiguities, irrelevancies, and evasions." How far this is so, and how far that "appearance of unprofitable special pleading," to which you plead guilty, is *only* "appearance," I must leave our readers to decide.

On your general account however of St. Augustine's testimony, I am able quite to agree with you; though most strangely you say, that his view is the very one "impugned by" me. St. Augustine defends, you say, as "allowable under particular circumstances"—("desirable," I think, will be considered a fairer word, by those who have read the quotations adduced)—"a course of conduct which is yet," under other circumstances, "an abandonment of the Church's duty." Your own expression indeed is, "abstractedly:" but as the Church of course cannot act "abstractedly" from *all* circumstances, but *must* act either under one set or under another, the words I have substituted are more accurate. And when, in addition to the above statement, we consider your own admission, that the Church's circumstances, from St. Augustine's time downward, have been essentially the same with each other in respect of the matter before us, and essentially different from those previous to his time;—it will appear that at last, after all your show of contention, you hardly differ one tittle from myself as to this great Father's real judgment. And this appears even more plainly from your concluding Notice, as I shall almost immediately proceed to explain.

The passage from St. Pacian, I quoted avowedly at second hand from Klee; and (circumstanced as I am) I have no immediate means of referring to it. I am quite content to leave it in your hands. You say that it is not *clear* from the *context* that

it means what the words would naturally import; though *another* section of the same work “seems to *favour*” my, or rather Klee’s “interpretation.” You further remark, that in this latter section the Saint “distinctly maintains that sinners were not tolerated” in the Church “while unrepentant.” But since, as we shall immediately see, you admit yourself that in St. Pacian’s time the fact was notoriously and avowedly the direct contrary to this, I find it difficult to believe that such can really be the meaning of the passage.

Turning now from this “unprofitable special pleading,” let me consider your broad answers to my broad facts. In regard to the times before Constantine, your reply is, that then, by my own confession, a discipline was enforced, which in later times was abandoned; and that in St. Cyprian’s time, for example, “the question was not whether ‘orthodox profligates’ should be excluded from the Church, but whether in grave cases they should ever be readmitted.” My main answer to this is now evident. You do not profess that the exclusion of evil men from the Church was ever regarded as more than an act of discipline; enforced by the Church at her discretion, in individual (however numerous) instances. But I allege that *professed heretics* were regarded as *essentially and by Divine ordinance* external to the Church. I admit indeed fully, that the Church of St. Cyprian’s time presented in her rules as broad a contrast to the Church of later ages as, *on a matter of mere discipline*, it well could present. And yet, very remarkably, notwithstanding all her elaborate laws of discipline, the passages cited from St. Cyprian abundantly shew that, “when the purifying fire of persecution relented, even for a moment,” the external features of the Church, in regard to the admixture of good and evil men, presented an astonishing resemblance to the appearance presented in that respect by the Church of every subsequent age: an appearance far indeed removed from that idea of “a Church without spot or blemish,” which, in point-blank opposition to St. Augustine, you claim as appertaining to the Church on earth. Ecclesiastical discipline then (from whatever cause), has never been such, as materially to affect the external appearance of the Church. And this is made still more clear, from the confessed phenomena of the sub-

sequent age; in which, be it never forgotten, the discipline in question still remained.

So much in reference to the three first centuries. But as to those which follow, the ground you take up is so astonishing, and at the same time so instructive, that I will preface my notice of it by a brief recapitulation of certain facts. In my last pamphlet occurs the following passage (p. 88) :

“That you should consider the ancient discipline more suitable to present circumstances than the modern, were it merely on both sides a matter of opinion, would be to me a surprising conclusion. That you confidently maintain this opinion, in admitted contradiction to the Church of twelve centuries at least, without so much as alleging support, either from the Church, or from any one holy man, belonging to any period since the Apostles; and founding your view merely on your own idea of ‘the spirit of Scripture,’ and on ‘the natural conclusions of a reason’ which, you confidently believe, it seems, is ‘informed by Scripture;’—this is as strong an instance, surely, of private judgment exercised in its most objectionable sense, as Germany or America can produce. But that you go even further, and not only confidently hold the ancient discipline to be better for these times than the modern, but pronounce the Church to have almost apostatised in consequence of making this change; this is really an allegation which it is difficult gravely to meet. Its eccentricity almost diverts one’s attention from its immeasurable audacity.”\*

I charge you in this passage with alleging, that “the Church almost apostatised in making this change of discipline;” nor do you deny that such *is* your allegation. Your words indeed, as above quoted (see p. 13, 14), in their plain and natural sense, signify even more than this; they signify that she would have quite lost Christ’s presence thereby, had it not been that God’s “long-suffering” has so greatly “abated from the awfulness of His threatenings.” What will be the surprise of those who have not read your articles, when I mention that *in this censure you have expressly, and in so many words, included the Church contemporary*

\* You have extracted the last sentence of this passage in your Fifth Notice, and you have quoted it, so detached, in a way which would give most of your readers a very erroneous impression. The passage, in its entirety, shews, that it is not the particular opinion you have formed, but your having formed it against such a weight of authority, which I so severely characterise.

*with Constantine.* So extraordinary a statement will hardly be believed without clear evidence; and I will therefore quote your own language. It occurs in your Final Notice.

“Mr. Ward will reply,” you say, “that it was not until the external circumstances of the Church were absolutely reversed by the state becoming Christian, that the Apostolic precept would be reversed also. But *will others admit* that the principle on which the Apostle so confidently grounds his command . . . *is true in the time of St. Paul, but false in that of Constantine?* And if not, to what does his *excuse* reduce itself? To this, that,” on certain grounds of “expediency,” “the Church consented to reverse the Apostolic command:”

—a command, in respect of which you are most earnest and energetic in arguing that it is “a precept *binding on every age*, and not only on the Apostolic;” that the Apostle is speaking, “*not* for the contemporary Corinthians, but for the Church of all ages:” while you comment on “the miserable tone of my sentiments,” because (among other things) I have not done justice to “the depth and meaning” of this said command. So that, putting these passages together, your judgment runs as follows: “St. Paul gave a certain commandment, binding not only on Christians of his own age, but on the Church of all ages; a command of such depth and meaning, that the mere supposition of its having been but of temporary obligation, implies a miserable tone of sentiments in one who so supposes. This commandment, the Church contemporary with Constantine, *reversed*; though the principle on which it rested was as true then, as in the very time of St. Paul himself.” Finally, you attack me for attempting to *excuse* this act; characterising my “*excuse*” as feeble and inconsequential.

That I, as a “Roman” Catholic, am called upon to *excuse* the Church of St. Athanasius, St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, in answer to your attacks upon that Church, is a remarkable gauge of the speed with which the theological stream of your party is ebbing, towards the shoal of simple undisguised Protestantism. Even now I cannot venture to take for granted, that those of whom you seem the accredited organ, will echo your sentiments; it may be, and I sincerely hope it will, that when their attention

is called to the subject, they will disavow them. But I cannot refrain from quoting a passage, which I wrote while yet a Protestant several years ago; and which at that time, I believe, was counted merely as one of those controversial "extravagances," which you and others have at various times imputed to me. I must confess however that I was not myself prepared, for so very signal a throwing overboard of the Nicene period, as your recent Notices have displayed.

"As the controversy proceeds," I remarked, "it will not be a matter of surprise if 'high Churchmen' abandon their own ground, and take refuge in the *three* first centuries. Considering, indeed, that the Councils which give any sanction to the damnatory clauses of the Athanasian Creed belong wholly to the later period, and considering too how firm a 'locus standi' these Councils have been ordinarily considered by 'high Churchmen' to afford, such a step would be a bold one. On the other hand, of course at a time when the whole Christian world was kept in a state of separation and depression by repeated persecutions, there was much less opportunity for its real nature to display itself than at later periods; and those accordingly, who are really, though most unconsciously, *opposed, not merely to later developments, but to Apostolical Christianity itself*, will be less triumphantly and signally refuted from the scanty remains of those three centuries, than from the copious records of the Nicene era."

Of course, as far as the point in controversy is concerned, nothing more is to be said: you not only admit, but vehemently maintain, that the Nicene Church is against you; and call on me, if I can, to "*excuse*" the said Church. And yet, this being your opinion, I could have wished you had from the first more openly said so, instead of resorting to the vague phrase, "the last twelve hundred years, to speak very much within the mark." (Anglo-Romanism, No. V.) "The last fifteen hundred years" would have been more simple and intelligible. Were you afraid of admitting even to yourself, how far your censure extended?

It may be as well to point out for others, (what cannot have escaped *your* observation,) that the view you take, as to the sinful course pursued by the Nicene Church, entirely overthrows the authority of that Church in matters of faith. A Church which, of two duties equally imperative, consistently and perseveringly

abandoned one,—a Church which “reversed” a precept of St. Paul’s which was as fully binding in that age as in the Apostolic—will hardly deserve much respect in her definitions of doctrine. Your position therefore comes to this, that for the truth of the propositions contained in the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds, there is no warrant, except private judgment exercised on the text of Scripture and on the patristic writings of the first three centuries; and that you Anglicans, in reciting the Athanasian Creed, anathematise your fellow-men for no other offence, except that of differing from yourselves in their interpretation of those writings.

You will not of course so misunderstand that passage of my own which I lately cited, as to imagine that I concede the Church of the earlier centuries to be one jot or tittle more in your favour than the Nicene Church. I only mean this, that a far more vivid picture is obtainable of Nicene sayings and doings than of earlier, though the far greater copiousness of surviving records; and such picture, as being more vivid, is therefore in more pointed and emphatic opposition to the state of your Church. The details of earlier ages which exist, are no less signally antagonistic to you than those of the fourth; only they are fewer. And I may add that, supposing a consistent theory could be formed merely as an hypothesis, (which, for the novelty of the thing, one would at least wish to see attempted,) purporting to defend your Establishment as part of the Catholic Church, I am perfectly certain that it would be as utterly impossible to obtain from the second or third, as from the first or fourth, century, one single fact or sentiment, which could appear even *prima facie* to give the most distant or colourable support to such a theory.

III. Now on the Scriptural argument: though before entering on it I must premise, that it is not according to a Catholic’s idea of humility, or of the most ordinary propriety, that a man should be so convinced of his own competency, moral and intellectual, for ascertaining the “mind of the Spirit,” that he would dare to hold by his own poor views on the Sacred Text, in opposition whether to the judgment of Saints or to the voice of the Church. A Catholic will not indeed, of course, profess to see in Scripture what he does *not* see; but he will shrink from supposing for a

moment that a thing is *not* there, merely because *he* does not see it. And so,—whereas the Nicene Church, having (according to your own account) to deal with a complete revolution of circumstances, encountered the change (as you maintain) with a complete revolution of discipline,—that I should judge their conduct to have been unlawful because of my own inferences from the Inspired Text, would appear to me presumption so frightful that were I guilty of it, I should almost expect to bring down a divine judgment on my head.

In such a case therefore, if, according to my own natural reading of Scripture, that were to appear forbidden which the Catholic Church has since done, I should take for granted that I misunderstood the Sacred Text. And I say this, lest the course I now take be misunderstood; and lest, when I meet you on the ground of Scripture, I should be understood as admitting the relevancy and propriety of your mode of appeal to it. But I must say that to me, the voice of the Apostolic Church, interpreted by Scripture alone, seems as directly and undeniably antagonistic to your views, as that of the Nicene Church itself: and more *cannot* be said.

In my last Letter I drew attention to the plain fact, that in the Apostolic Church was witnessed the very same contrast, which has existed in the Church Catholic of every age. I pointed out, that the Apostles were endued with the gift of infallible teaching, and that the Christian body had the privilege of receiving Christian doctrine *from* these living infallible teachers; but that neither Apostles nor people were promised any “power of sinlessness,” much less any “grace efficaciously preserving them from sin” (pp. 59, 63). I argued, that accordingly (p. 110), as no promise of impeccability had been given, nor any expectation of any thing like it had been held out, (insomuch that “St. Paul himself expresses his need of severe self-discipline ‘lest he become a reprobate,’”) there is nothing whatever to surprise us, were we to find the most heinous offences then or at any time. I added, that “such an instance” especially as that “of Judas Iscariot,” who, though an Apostle, committed the one most unspeakably fearful sin which the world ever saw, “might prepare us for any amount of wickedness in ecclesiastical *rulers* at future periods.” And as to the Christian *people* again, I specified (p. 98)



“Ananias and Sapphira, and the Corinthian profaners of the Lord’s Supper, and the Sardian corruptions, and the Laodicean lukewarmness.” Let me notice then such comment as you have given, on these various arguments and citations.

The first, founded on the fact that infallibility was promised and not impeccability,—an argument which seems to me to go to the very root of the whole matter, and to prove demonstrably, as applicable to the privileges of the Christian Church, that very distinction between pure teaching and pure practice, which you deny,—this argument you have simply ignored: through your six Notices I cannot observe so much as the most distant allusion to it. My mention of the liability under which St. Paul himself was placed of becoming a reprobate, you describe as an “argument which does not appear to require any other answer than to be clearly stated” (Fourth Notice): on which I will only observe, that I should have been quite satisfied if you *had* “clearly stated” it. And of Judas Iscariot, the only other case you notice, you say, “we read not that he retained his Apostolate in spite of transgression, but that he ‘by transgression fell’ from it.” An extraordinary reply, indeed. For even if we were to make the strange supposition, that the awful guilt, with which Judas closed his earthly career, was a mere sudden impulse, in no way flowing from past habits of fearfully evil imaginings;—even on this supposition, we have two undoubted facts recorded by the sacred writers. In the first place, he was, apparently throughout his ministry, an habitual thief; which, considering the circumstances of the case, the sanctions which he transgressed, the trusts which he violated, above all the Person against whom he immediately sinned, implies surely in the Apostle a degree of guilt, which it is difficult to parallel in the worst crimes of the Apostles’ worst Successors. And in the second place, the exterior consummation of his final wickedness had already in part taken place, by his pact with the chief priests, at a time when his Master, even during the solemn institution of the Eucharist, treated him in every respect as one of the Twelve. Such is your answer to these two of my Scriptural citations; the rest you have not attempted to answer at all.

These arguments, I consider, rest not on isolated texts

which may admit of two interpretations, but on broad palpable facts, legible on the very surface of the Sacred Word; on particulars in the constitution of the Apostolic Church, which pervade the whole Scripture account of that Church. Your own Scriptural citations appear to me, I confess, of a very opposite character; such as they are however, it now becomes my business to consider them.

You first quoted our blessed Saviour's words, "by their fruits you shall know them;" to which you said that my own position was "even rudely and violently opposed." In my last Letter I replied upon this; and you now say, that *in* my reply "I admit" your assertion "in the tone of a person who impugns it." You could not have carried away this impression, I think, if you had read with care what I *did* say in answer. I referred indeed to St. John iv. 12, in order to shew that "false prophets" were discerned, not by their evil fruits alone, but also by their disagreement with the doctrine already revealed; and this part of my comment it was which led you into the mistake above mentioned. But my chief reply was grounded on this very phrase, "false prophets;" in that our blessed Saviour, as I observed, "by implication enforces the extreme importance of true doctrine, by His solemn words, 'beware of *false* prophets'" (p. 95). Since however you have so completely failed to catch my meaning, and since I do not wish to deny indeed that my words fail possibly so to bring it out, as to impress it with sufficient clearness on hasty readers, (though a little attention would make it plain enough),—I will try if I can now state it with a definiteness, which you will not be able to misunderstand.

Our Saviour, I said (p. 95), "is not *contrasting* soundness of faith with holiness of practice, but the very contrary; He says that the latter is a test of the former." In other words: "a true prophet" is a person or body which teaches aright what to believe and what to practise. *We* say that it is an essential note of the Catholic Church, and a privilege guaranteed to her by the infallible promises of Christ, that in matters of faith and morals, she shall always *be* a true prophet: *you* say, that there is no more promise that she shall always be a true prophet, than that she shall always display holiness and zeal in the great body of

her individual members; and therefore, in fact, that there is no such infallible promise at all. But to speak of doctrinal orthodoxy being *one* note of a true prophet, is simply unmeaning; to be a true prophet, *is* to be orthodox in teaching, and is nothing else. I say then that our blessed Saviour's words, in their direct significance, are wholly irrelevant to the question between us; and that in their implication they are on my side. In their direct significance they are irrelevant, because they presuppose some claim, in behalf of some person or authority, of being a "true prophet:" whereas it is your position, that (what you regard as) the Catholic Church neither makes, nor has a right to make, *any* such claim; you assert, not that the Catholic Church *is*, but that she is *not*, essentially "a true prophet." But in their *implication* these words are on my side: because, as I said, the solemn saying, "beware of false prophets," implies the extreme importance of having the guidance of a *true* prophet; whereas it is your distinct argument, throughout this controversy, that I *overrate* this importance.

Lastly, in my former Letter I proceeded to examine these words, so far as they *do* bear on the Catholic Church; and to shew how fully she, claiming as *she* undoubtedly *does* to be a true prophet, is able to substantiate this claim by this test of practical "fruits," notwithstanding the admitted worldliness and wickedness of great numbers among her children (pp. 95, 96). I shewed, as you in other words express this part of my argument, that "the Roman Catholic Church, viewed in certain aspects, does possess the note of sanctity, in a degree which proves overwhelmingly the truth of her mission." These last words indeed are not quite definite enough: rather "proves overwhelmingly the fact of her being a true prophet; that is, the purity of her faith." "This is a statement," you add, "which you have never failed to acknowledge;" though you consider it "consistent with your own argument." Strange indeed this last! For if the Church in communion with Rome be a true prophet, and if one of her most undoubted lessons to her children be (as all admit) that your Establishment is external to the Visible Body of Christ, it seems difficult to imagine how, consistently with the former admission, you can deny the latter proposition.

On the other texts adduced in your articles on "Anglo-Romanism," I have no comment here to make; because I replied to them all in my last Letter (pp. 97-99), and you have made no rejoinder. The only exception to this remark is, "the Apostolic admonition as to excluding notorious sinners from Christian communion;" which will be more conveniently considered, in connexion with the further Scriptural illustrations of it brought together in your concluding "Notice." I will first then dispose of one remaining text, adduced in the same "Notice," and then come to this whole question of the Apostolic use of excommunication.

The text I allude to is (1 Tim. v. 8): "If any provide not for his own, and specially for those of his own house, he hath denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel;" in which, you say, "St. Paul expressly contrasts misconduct and unbelief, and declares the first to be the most unchristian." I am not aware of a single commentator, patristic, modern Catholic, or Protestant, who gives this sense to the passage; and had not *you* given it that sense, I should have thought it impossible for any one of sound mind to have done so. St. Chrysostom (*ad loc.*): "'He is worse than an infidel' wherefore? Because the latter, if he benefits not *aliens*, does not neglect his *near relations*." Estius: "Quia nimirum *infideles*, etsi *inimicos suos* se odisse profiteantur, domesticorum tamen curam habere solent, ducti lege naturæ; quam ipsi hâc in re non violant." Valpy: "These words plainly respect the provision which children should make for their parents. The *heathens themselves* put this among the first and most indissoluble principles of nature. . . . To be negligent in this matter was accounted one of the greatest impieties," &c. So that, in fact, this verse is precisely parallel in meaning to 1 Cor. v. 1: "There is . . . among you . . . such fornication as the like is not among the heathens." It has nothing in the world to do with any comparison between misconduct and misbelief; but is just such a sentiment as is continually heard from Catholic preachers, who dwell upon the practice of Protestants as putting to shame that of a lax Catholic: "such a Catholic," they say, "with greater light, yet in this or that particular commits greater sins than misbelievers themselves." As to *your* interpretation, it is evidently quite beside the mark; the

question being, not the amount of sin involved in unbelief, but the amount of virtue (such as care for his relatives) which an unbeliever may practise. In its true bearing, I think it would be a forced construction to press this text beyond what I above implied; viz. that there were Christians who *in one or two respects* fell below the heathen standard of morality. But it would serve *my* purpose as *against* you, if I *did* press it further; for it would then signify that some *members of the Apostolic Church* were *more wicked than the average run of heathen*. We know from Rom. i. 24-32 what this average was.

While the preceding text then cannot possibly have such a meaning as you suppose, I should have thought that every one must acknowledge the existence of numberless passages in Scripture, where "faith" is spoken of as the only foundation on which "good works," *i. e.* Christian works, can be built; and as the gate and introduction of the whole Christian life. I will not attempt to enter upon these in detail, partly because I do not wish in this "final Letter" to introduce new matter without absolute necessity; and partly because to express myself with any detail and precision on the subject, would bring me across all the rival interpretations of the word "faith" and the rival commentaries on St. Paul, of which peaceful men would rather keep clear, wherever it is possible to do so. I have been reminded however of one passage, by its immediate vicinity to one of those which you quote. St. Paul says to Timothy: "have faith and good conscience; which [latter] some rejecting, have made shipwreck concerning the faith." This passage is spiritless, pointless, nay, absolutely meaningless, unless we suppose that "to make shipwreck concerning the faith" is an *additional* calamity, and one removing the Christian *farther from God*, than the "rejecting of a good conscience:" the former is spoken of, just as Catholics speak of it, as a fearful judgment occasionally inflicted in punishment for the former.

I now come then to the only one of your Scripture arguments, which has any pretensions to breadth and generality; the rest having been a mere citation (as I think, a most unsuccessful citation) of isolated texts. There is however this one broad fact to which you appeal—the Apostolic use of excommunica-

tion. As I wish to do the fullest justice to an argument of real force, whenever I do happen to meet with one at your hands, I will state your case in your own language.

“It is useful to remind people,” you say, “how infinitely the shadow of ecclesiastical discipline which is still maintained by the Church, falls short of that energetic extirpation of evil, that vigorous exclusion from the Christian brotherhood of notorious sinners, which is prescribed by Scripture, and was practised in the infancy of the Church.”—*Anglo-Romanism*, No. V.

In my last Letter (p. 96) I cited the following passage as a sample of those to which you alluded.

“I have written to you not to keep company, if any man that is named a brother be a fornicator, or covetous, or a server of idols, or a railer, or a drunkard, or an extortioner—with such an one not so much as to eat” (1 Cor. v. 11).

In your concluding “Notice” you add the following passages, referring respectively to “misbelief and misconduct,” in order to shew “that the same discipline is expressly prescribed for each,” in contradiction to my strong advocacy of a wide distinction existing between them. “If there come any unto you, and *bring not this doctrine*, receive him not into your home, nor bid him God speed; for he that biddeth him God speed is partaker of his evil deeds.” Parallel to this, you say, is the above passage, “not to *keep company*, if any brother be a *fornicator, &c.*” Again, of the heretics Hymeneus and Alexander, St. Paul writes, “whom I have delivered unto Satan, that they may learn not to blaspheme” (1 Tim. i. 20). Of the incestuous Corinthian, he bids the Church, in exactly the same tone, “in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ . . . to deliver such a one unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus” (1 Cor. v. 4).

I particularly desire to avoid all such cavil and special pleading on the mere letter of these and similar citations, as you lay to my charge; all explaining *away*; all those “half-arguments,” if I may use your own happy expression while altogether denying its applicability,—“all those half-arguments by which” a controversialist might attempt to “jostle them out of sight.” I particu-

larly desire to accept them in their full and natural import; to imbibe their spirit; to do justice to their entire bearing. How far I may succeed in this, of course I am not the best judge.

I begin with an observation, which I have already in part made at the outset of the present Letter. The "heretics," whom the Apostles had to deal with, were in one respect, and that one of the very greatest moment, altogether different from the great body of heretics in after times. The Arianisers, for example, did not profess to hold the same doctrine with the Church of St. Damasus, St. Athanasius, and St. Ambrose; but the very contrary: and so with other heresies of that or of other periods. For this very reason, heretics not only form conventicles of their own, but also, as Father Newman points out (*On Development*, p. 248), heap on (what is really) the Catholic Church of their day the most opprobrious epithets.

"By Montanists, Catholics were called 'the carnal;' by Novatians, 'the apostates;' by Valentinians, 'the worldly;' by Manichees, 'the simple;' by Aerians, 'the ephemeral;' by Apollinarians, 'the man-worshippers;' by Origenists, 'the flesh lovers' and 'the slimy;' by the Nestorians, 'Egyptians;' by Monophysites, 'the Chalcedonians;' by Donatists, 'the traitors,' 'the sinners,' and 'the servants of Antichrist,' and St. Peter's chair 'the seat of pestilence;' by Luciferians the Church was called 'a brothel,' 'the devil's harlot,' and 'synagogue of Satan.'"

Now if we consider for a moment, we shall see that, if there were any body of men who in the first century spoke, in terms such as these, of the Apostolic Church, and of the doctrine which they admitted to be *taught* by the Apostles, they would be simply *ipso facto* external to the Church, and so regarded by all Christians: such Scriptural language as you quote applies no more to *them*, than to avowed worshippers of Jupiter and Mercury. Supposing indeed that a Christian were to apostatise even into such open and avowed hostility to the Gospel as this last, it might be suitable that an Apostle should exercise his miraculous power in inflicting on him some bodily penalty; but it would be simply unmeaning to speak of *expelling* from the Church one, who neither was, nor claimed to be, a member of it.

The "heretics" then against whom the Apostles had to warn the faithful, were those who preached false doctrines *on the alleged authority of the Apostles*. "If there come any unto you," says St. John in the passage you cite, "and bring not *this doctrine*, receive him not into your house," &c.: for you may be sure he is no true exponent of our teaching. And so, even more expressly, St. Paul to the Thessalonians: "We beseech you, brethren, that you be not easily moved, nor be frighted, neither by spirit, nor by word, nor by epistle, *as sent from us*, as if the day of the Lord were at hand" (2 Thess. ii. 1, 2). Of Hymeneus's party, he says: "Their speech spreadeth *like a canker*" (2 Tim. ii. 17). No teachers of course could have made *the least* way in the Christian body, who openly and expressly professed to speak against St. Peter, St. Paul, and the whole body of Apostles; but suppose them to profess *Apostolic authority* for their heresies, there might probably enough be extreme and imminent danger of their "speech spreading." And so Titus is commanded to "avoid" (or, as you translate, "reject") "a man that is a heretic, *after the first and second admonition*" (Titus iii. 10); because, as our commentators explain it, after two admonitions, the offender may be fairly considered as sufficiently informed *what* the Apostolic doctrine is, and as wilfully rebellious therefore in continuing to oppose it. But does any one imagine that a person, standing up in the Church of Crete, and openly professing that the Apostles were liars and impostors, would have been counted a Christian until *twice admonished*?

It follows therefore, that that very thing which has been mainly known under the name of heresy in every successive age of the Church, is altogether beyond the scope of these texts; and that, as far as *that special thing* is concerned, your whole comparison between the Apostolic treatment of misbelief and of misconduct falls to the ground.

This being laid down at starting, I fully admit the rest. I fully admit that there were two things, in behalf of which the Apostles laboured with equal zeal, and exercised their apostolical power with equal vigour: viz. to exterminate from the Visible Body of the Church, and from the communion of the faithful, on the one hand open and scandalous sinners; and on the other



hand those, who, under pretence of Apostolic authority, corrupted Apostolic doctrine. "Concedo totum," as the scholastics say.

This then being fully admitted on my side, and on your side it being fully admitted as an "undoubted truth" "that a command *may* be Apostolic and yet temporary" (Concluding Notice), we have next to decide how far either of these two respective commands is of temporary, and how far of permanent, obligation. And I need not say that the mere fact of the Apostle enforcing both with equal zeal and energy, is of itself no sufficient proof that both were *equally* intended for permanence. Judgment must be passed on each, according to its own special circumstances.

I will begin then with the Apostolic treatment of such heretics as those above described; and certainly there is no great difficulty in discovering the reason for the severity which was exercised against them. You admit of course yourself, that, until the death of St. John, it was God's intention that Christians should enjoy the blessing of infallible teaching; and you must admit with equal readiness that this blessing would be interfered with and hindered, exactly in proportion as the doctrines, inculcated by these infallible guides, failed to reach the people in a pure and unadulterated state. In an extreme supposition, the whole Christian body might be perverted into some other Gospel "which was not another;" but on any supposition, unless the most anxious pains were taken to eradicate these false interpreters and their proselytes, the faith of indefinite numbers would be exposed to the most imminent peril of subtle yet most deep corruption.

I cannot but think that these simple considerations will enable us to solve *this* part of the problem with extreme facility. If the post-Apostolic Church were not to be likewise infallible, the whole reason for this discipline would fall to the ground; and earnest and emphatic as the Apostles' warnings and denunciations may have been, we can in reason allow them only a temporary scope. "Cessante ratione cessat lex." So far as the Apostles punished these heretics for being *dangerous*,—the danger ceased when there was no longer an infallible teacher whose words *could* be perverted, and when the Apostolic writings might be in the hands of all. So far as it was their *sin* which brought on them the Apostolic censure, the sin of obstinately and carnally blinding

themselves to the Apostles' real meaning,—such sin was no longer possible, when there were no longer living persons, whose meaning Christians were bound *rightly* to understand. But if on the other hand, as I argued at length in my former Letter (p. 57-83), “the notion of infallibility is intimately and indissolubly bound up in the notion itself of the Christian Society; and the depositum of faith is not separable even in idea from the living voice of an infallible Church;” then these Apostolic precedents apply, and these Apostolic precepts bind, even until the second coming of Christ. In one word, according to *your* view of the post-Apostolic Church, these precepts are *not* intended for permanence; according to *our* view of it, they *are*.

Just then as in the case of heretical teachers, however strong the Apostolic language, I fully admit that it is quite unreasonable to apply that language to later times, except so far as the circumstances remain parallel; so in my last Letter I maintained the same proposition in the case of evil livers. I cannot do better indeed than give your own summary of my argument. I observed in the first place, that at a later period the circumstances of the Church were absolutely reversed by the State becoming Christian; and this statement you fully admit to be true. I proceeded to argue that, while Christians are commanded by the Apostle to separate from sinners professing Christianity, they are allowed by him to continue courteous intercourse with heathens of a similar character, and are implicitly commanded (as far as may be) to remain “in the world.” These premisses also you fully concede; and yet the conclusion which would seem so necessarily to follow from them, the conclusion that, when the circumstances of the Church were reversed, the discipline depending on those circumstances would of course be reversed also,—this you absolutely repudiate. And what makes this even more strange is, that in your original series (“Anglo-Romanism,” No. V.) you appear to admit “that the present state of undiscipline,” which you regard as “equally short of primitive precedents and of the Church’s ideal as it lies on the face of Scripture, may yet be collected from that Scripture to have been *predetermined by the Almighty*; as it would perhaps have seemed inevitable to any merely human foresight.” You allude here, I suppose, to some

passages in the Gospels, commonly quoted by our controversialists; which I shall now proceed to cite.

“ And the servants said to Him, ‘ Wilt Thou that we go and gather it up?’ And he said, ‘ *No; lest, perhaps, gathering the cockle, you root up the wheat also together with it: suffer both to grow until the harvest.*’ . . . The harvest is the end of the world. *At the end of the world* the Son of man shall send His angels, and they shall gather out of His kingdom all scandals, and them that work iniquity. *Then shall the just shine like the sun in the kingdom of their Father*” (Matt. xiii. 28-30; 39-43). “ The kingdom of heaven is like to a net cast into the sea, and gathering together of *all kind of fishes*; which, *when it was filled*, they drew out, and, sitting by the shore, they chose out the good into vessels, but the bad they cast forth. So shall it be *at the end of the world*” (Matt. xiii. 47, 49).

I may refer in the same Gospel to xxii. 11-13; xxv. 1-12; xxv. 18, 24-30: all of which texts express, with more or less distinctness, that at the Day of Judgment, for the first time, will there be, on any great and consistent scale, a visible separation between good and bad. Such texts as these are of a distinctly prophetic character, and *do* allude distinctly to *all* ages of the Church; and they are the words moreover of Him, to whom the Future is as the Present.

In summing up the argument and observing your admissions, my readers may begin to wonder what loophole you have left yourself. You admit that He who promised that the gates of Hell should never prevail against His Church, yet “pre-determined the present state of undiscipline” within her. You admit that the same state of undiscipline “would perhaps have seemed inevitable to merely human foresight.” You make no attempt at making out any such case, of “predetermination on the part of God,” or “inevitableness according to human foresight,” for that toleration of *heresy* within a professing Church, which it is the one purpose of your argument to *parallel* with toleration of vice; or rather indeed, as we shall presently see, you confess the exact opposite. You admit that the state of things for which the Apostles legislated, was the very contrary to the whole later state of things, in the very point here in question. You do not maintain (as no one does) that the Apostles were ordinarily endowed with distinct foreknowledge of the future

course of ecclesiastical events. You admit that, from the very moment of being *confronted* with this change of circumstances, the Catholic Church adopted that precise course, which you make a matter of such blame against us at the present day. You admit that the Church of the fourth century had as full knowledge as you have of those texts of St. Paul and the rest, on which you lay such stress; and that she nevertheless interpreted Scripture on this head in a sense critically and pointedly the opposite of yours. And yet so confident are you that *you*, in opposition to St. Augustine, St. Ambrose, and the rest, have seized the “spirit of Scripture,” that, on the strength of that supposition, you do not hesitate to pronounce sentence of close approach to Apostacy, on every Church calling itself Christian from that day to this.

Now it is not too much to say, that the whole Scripture argument, on which you rest such awful conclusions, is vitiated from first to last by a confusion of ideas so undeniable, that merely to point it out is all that can be required. You confuse the two totally distinct ideas, of a “temporary” precept on the one hand, and a “merely ceremonial” one on the other. You take for granted that because (on the authority of our Blessed Saviour and of the Catholic Church) I maintain that this precept was not intended to be of permanent obligation, I thereby imply that it had not a most important moral meaning, and a most important moral bearing, in the time of the Apostles. Nothing can be further from the truth. I need hardly say, I suppose, that I have just as little doubt that the Church’s discipline in the first century was suitable to the circumstances of the first century, as that her discipline in the fourth was suitable to those of the fourth: just as little; *less* I *cannot* have. Now, surely it is self-evident, that a mode of discipline, eminently suitable to the circumstances of the time,—and unspeakably conducive therefore to that most important of objects, the saving of souls,—would be pursued by the Apostles (if I may use so trivial an expression) *con amore*; that it would be a labour of love with them; and that they would exhort Christians to the observance of the rules laid down on the subject, in the tone of men who are enforcing what is of the most vital importance to the spiritual good of the

community. You speak most truly of the "strong and clear sentences of indignation in which the Apostle appears to embody the spirit and objects of that discipline", (Concluding Notice): "'Know ye not,' is his earnest question," as you proceed to urge, "'that a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump? Purge out, therefore, the old leaven, that ye may be a new lump, as ye are unleavened.' And he sums up his whole teaching on the subject in the short and impressive conclusion: 'therefore put away from yourselves the wicked person.'" "How different," you then add, "from the measured words in which is delivered the precept" of abstinence from things strangled, and from blood!

Fully sympathising as I do with this passage on the whole, and strongly thinking, with you, that the Apostle's feeling towards these latter precepts would be of a widely different kind indeed from that wherewith he would enforce the abstaining from all intercourse with a wicked Christian,—I cannot forbear, however, from commenting on the strange blunder into which you have fallen in this last passage; and on the lesson we may thence derive, as to the danger of resting weight on conclusions destitute of external authority, and which claim acceptance only from their accordance with what we are disposed to think "the spirit of Scripture." You speak of the "measured words in which is delivered the precept" from the Apostolic Council (Acts xv. 28, 29), as implying that such precept "comprised matters of merely temporary obligation." Now, one of the matters contained in this precept, and spoken of just in the same tone with the rest, is abstinence "*from fornication.*" See the danger of such confident arguing, not from definite external authority, but from this impalpable "spirit of Scripture."\*

To return, however. Certainly I am not the person to deny, that this duty of purging the Church from evil men, and causing it to shine before the world as a living pattern and exemplar of Christian sanctity, is one eminently attractive to a spiritual mind. Each state of things has its own peculiar advantages, which we love and cherish; without thereby meaning to imply

\* You speak of "the precept to which Mr. Ward refers, as comprising matters of merely temporary obligation;" as though I had preceded you in this blunder: but my only words were, "No one *e. g.* regards abstinence from things strangled and from blood, as permanently binding" (p. 96).

that of rights there ought to be no *other* state of things. It is "the inalienable office of the Church," as I said in my last Letter (p. 87), "to proclaim outwardly to the world the sanctity which is enshrined within herself:" and St. Paul was engaged in promoting this, her essential office, by the very means which were then most efficacious to that end. Is it to be wondered at if his tone implies, what is just the simple truth, that he was engaged in a line of exertion, than which no other could be more indispensably obligatory and more immediately conducive to the glory of God? Or rather, would it not be a matter of the greatest wonder if his tone were otherwise? What then can be more outrageously preposterous than to bring his writings into court, as you bring them, with the view of eliciting from them a judgment on a question which literally never came before him; the question namely, whether, if circumstances were wholly to change, the means he would adopt for carrying out this essential duty would be the same or different?

Enough then, a great deal more than enough indeed, has now been said, in vindication of what we Catholics regard as the true interpretation of the texts which you specify:—an interpretation, which does as full justice to the scope and spirit of St. Paul and St. John as your own does; but which enables us also to do what you *cannot*, defer to the clear statements and predictions of St. Paul's and St. John's *Master*: an interpretation which enables us to regard the Church of the three first centuries with as much of deep reverence as you can regard it with; while we are able to bestow equal admiration and sympathy on that glorious Nicene *burst* (if I may so express myself), which your theory compels *you* to consider as the very entrance within the sanctuary of the spirit of Antichrist.

IV. The principles then which I have been laying down, are both clear and definite, and also consistent with each other, with Scripture, and with Antiquity: while those propounded by yourself, 1st, are mutually contradictory; 2d, set one part of Scripture at variance with another; and 3d, extol one period of the Early Church to the disparagement of another. Over the ground of Scripture and Antiquity I have now sufficiently travelled; it remains to defend my own arguments, and assail yours, so far as

they do not directly refer to either of these two heads, but are occupied with discussing the *reason* of the thing.

Here, *in limine*, I have two great complaints to make of the course you have pursued. In the first place, in this, as in the Scriptural argument, you have altogether neglected what I may call the main trunk-line of my reasoning, and occupied yourself with comment on a variety of details; every one of which might be surrendered to your mercy (though *they will not be*) without serious damage to my argument. The second is, that while I find plenty of cavil and objection to (what I maintain as) the *Catholic* theory, I can find no such thing as any *counter* theory; not so much as the faintest attempt at a consistent statement of principles adverse to mine. Let me beg my readers, *e. g.*, to refer to the extract I made a few pages back, from the first article in which you developed your singular views on Church-discipline: in regard to that extract, I said in my last Letter (p. 99):

“Make a clear statement *what* are the conditions imposed by our blessed Saviour as the tenure on which the Church remains in possession; give proofs of this statement from Scripture; explain how the facts of history and testimony of the Fathers accord with it. I am quite convinced that you cannot do any one of these three things; but if you do, I pledge myself, in that case, to meet you on your new ground.”

I cannot think it creditable to your controversial character, that so distinct and so very reasonable a challenge has been left as totally unnoticed by you, as though it had never been made. I will not follow your example; but will here give a general statement of those principles contained in my last Letter, which bear on the question at issue.

I abandoned any attempt (p. 58) to conjecture *à priori*, on grounds of reason, what might have been *expected* from God in giving us a revelation; considering that reason might be more profitably exercised on the actual revelation given, as on its subject matter (pp. 58, 59). I pointed out that what the Gospel on its first promulgation *did* in fact offer, was on the one hand a consistent and true guidance, for those who cared to follow it, on the great principles of religion and morality; and on the other hand an accurate instruction in certain high and heavenly truths,

then first revealed, belief in which was calculated to produce the most elevating and supernatural effect on the whole moral and spiritual character (pp. 59, 60). In order to shew more strongly how signal and unspeakable a blessing was afforded by this true guidance, I urged that, for want of such guidance, the greatest moral evils prevailed in heathen countries; evils which I specified in detail, shewing their connexion with the absence of such guidance: insomuch, I added, that elevated and consistent virtue was rendered practically impossible (p. 59).

The next step in my argument, so far as it bears on the point in hand, was to give reasons for my firm conviction, that this provision for true and infallible guidance was never intended to be merely temporary; but, on the contrary, to be "commensurate in its duration with Christianity itself" (pp. 64-72). And I proceeded at once to make plain, that if this were once granted, the claims of what we regard as the Catholic Church are established (pp. 72, 73).

In behalf of this same attribute of infallibility I further argued, that when it is absent, as in your own Establishment, all those fearful evils immediately recur (to whatever extent their degree may be mitigated) which it was the very function of the Gospel on its first appearance to remove (pp. 76-78):—that in such a case there was, further, no sufficient calling into action of the principle of *faith* (p. 81):—that so far as it *is* called into action, it is in fact faith in *man* not in *God* (p. 80):—and that in regard even to any *true* doctrine which may be believed by those external to the infallible Church, there is no means of *evidencing* to the mass of such men its divine origin; because these men "are brought into no direct contact with any authority which claims to be the very Voice of God" (p. 83). And I implied of course as self-evident, all through my argument, that all these inestimable blessings which the infallible teaching of the Church confers, are conferred (as the very terms shew) by the fact itself *of* that infallible teaching, so only such teaching continued to be promulgated; and is not therefore in any way interfered with, by any conceivable amount of wickedness, whether in Christian rulers or people. Lastly, I drew out in some little detail some of the various senses in which "the Catholic Church of every age and



place is, as we maintain, especially holy." Thus—first she inculcates those pure and genuine doctrines of the Gospel, and those lofty and elevated principles of morality, which, in proportion as they are realised and dwelt upon, lead to sanctity, and without which sanctity cannot exist; secondly, she preserves the Sacraments, by means of which that supernatural principle is implanted which alone can produce sanctity; thirdly, in an infinite variety of ways, (some of which I mention,) she is ever at work, (sometimes more actively, sometimes less; but always more or less,) to catch souls and raise them to God (pp. 84-87).

To all this, which in fact is the great staple of my argument, and that part on which the main stress was laid, I can literally find no answer; unless indeed I except the following brief comment, in your Fourth Notice, on the passage just now referred to, in p. 59 of my former Letter. "Mr. Ward strives to frame a theory," you say, to explain "the object for which the Church was set up," "which shall suit the exigencies of the Roman system; and to hide the deficiencies of that theory by a cloud of words." As this "theory" was the very foundation on which my whole superstructure was reared, surely it was your business to *shew* its "deficiencies" if you could, and *expose* the fallacies concealed by my "cloud of words." As you have made no attempt so to do, and as it is impossible for me to answer objections with which I am not acquainted, and the nature of which I cannot conjecture, the truth of the general principles above stated must be assumed for the purposes of the present argument.

I say then that those most special and signal blessings "which, as the records of Apostolic times shew, were the very object for which the Church was set up," must remain unimpaired, so long as Christian faith and morality are inculcated in their unsullied purity; or, in other words, according to our belief, wherever the Catholic Church exists. But I never maintained, as you think I did (Fourth Notice), (God forbid!) that "*God's work on earth was not impeded*" by those deplorable scandals on which you have so earnestly dwelt. On the contrary, I admitted that "*evils of the gravest character* afflicted Christendom . . . from the character of various Popes," in consequence of "the free scope allowed by them to bad practices of various kinds" (Second Letter, p. 115);

and the circumstances of another place and period, which I in the same breath maintained to be fully consistent with Catholic communion, I nevertheless designated as “*a most miserable and detestable state of things*” (First Letter, p. 5). I fully accede to every thing contained in the passage which you quote from Baronius; nor indeed is it probable that I was unaware of the said passage, seeing that Father Newman (I think more than once, but certainly once) quoted it in the *British Critic*. I believe that I am as fully alive as you can be, “to the corrupting effect upon a Christian people of scandalous misconduct among those whose office they are bound to revere.” I am quite aware that “the wickedness of a ruler induces almost of necessity a corruption of the machinery which he directs, a corrupt administration of patronage,\* . . . a general distrust and carelessness of what is holy, a variety of particular triumphs of evil over good, all tending in the same direction to the loss of souls for whom Christ died.” God forbid, I repeat, that I should be blind myself, or seek to blind others, to the miserable and disastrous results which must flow from Papal or Episcopal depravity! I only say that the good which the Church, from her divine constitution, cannot but retain, does not simply outbalance, — that it is literally incommensurable with, — these evils, exceedingly great as they are; and that “he who is in search for spiritual and supernatural truth, under a deep sense of its indispensable importance, and with a sufficient perception of the helplessness and blindness of mere individual judgment in groping after such truth — that he will not find this whole class of objections to be so much as even a temporary obstacle in his path” (Second Letter, p. 118). My reason for being sure of this was expressed in that very “theory,” to which you have not attempted any reply.

It will be perhaps more satisfactory however, though certainly not necessarily called for, if I repeat parts of this “theory” in the present connexion. And in doing so, I am of course, as I need hardly say, to assume that the doctrine inculcated *e. g.* by John XII. *was* absolutely pure and orthodox; because that is the

\* I omit here the words, “a corrupt exercise of discipline,” as I suppose you to mean thereby ecclesiastical censures. Referring you to my explanation (Second Letter, pp. 112, 113) on this head, I claim to know how such “corrupt exercise” is even conceivable.

very thing to *be* assumed in the argument between us. You say that it is "trifling with a serious subject, to argue that the state of things" above described "is not inconsistent with the objects for which the Church was set up, because the man who is thus corrupting the action of that Church is supposed by Roman Catholics to be incapable of declaring what is untrue in matters of doctrine," &c. And I reply, that if he *be* incapable of declaring what is untrue in matters of faith and morals (*which I am therefore to assume for the purpose of this argument*), to argue this very proposition is not "trifling with a serious subject" at all; but, on the contrary, is to advocate what is itself a very serious and certain truth.

Let us remember then that, upon our view of the case, every Christian in the days of John XII., who experienced even a momentary impulse towards the service of God, knew at once exactly *what* to do in order to please Him. Those principles of morality were at once placed before him, which alone fully, and ever more and more deeply, satisfy the conscience, in proportion as its voice is elicited into distinct shape. He was instructed in those high spiritual truths concerning God and His dealing with man which, in proportion as they are realised, are in the deepest and truest harmony with those moral principles—nay, which (as one may say) swallow up morality into religion, and enable the whole moral and religious character to attain that consistency and proportion, for which man had before possessed the materials, but not the power; the external form, but not the quickening, animating spirit.\*

Now consider, on the other hand, the numbers of men in heathen or in Protestant countries who, with a keen and ardent desire for supernatural truth, are driven to try first one system of error and then another; and who (even supposing that they do not die before they have gone through the dismal catalogue; supposing that they have succeeded against the thousand adverse chances, and finally arrived at the truth; yet) arrive at it with energies exhausted by the previous search, and incapable of making vigorous use of it for the glory of God and the good of

\* I might here go on for some time longer in the same strain, applying to the present purpose the contents of pp. 59, 60 of my Second Letter.

their own souls. Consider still more, the multitudes of feeble and gentler spirits, who conceive for the moment earnest aspirations for what is holy, whose hearts are stirred within them by the Spirit of God, but who are driven back to the mire of merely selfish objects and interests by the apparent impossibility of attaining any certain knowledge of Divine truth.\* Dwell for a moment on their restless and unhappy condition; feeling their need of Divine guidance, yet knowing not where to look for it;—dreading some unknown future, yet ignorant how to seek security in regard to it;—dissatisfied with their existing code of morality, yet unable to find a better;—feeling themselves utterly worsted in whatever contest they may attempt against their evil passions, yet dreaming not from what quarter to expect help and succour;—and say whether, if the condition of the Catholic Church, as we believe it to have been when governed by John XII., had been revealed to them, they would not have ardently apostrophised the Catholics of that date: “Blessed are *your* eyes for they see, and *your* ears for they hear; for many . . . have desired to see those things which ye see and have not seen them, and to hear those things which ye hear and have not heard them.”

So far from it being true that to say this is to “trifle with a serious subject,” I really believe that almost all men possessed of any moral earnestness, even those who regard with the greatest hatred or contempt mediæval religion, would yet agree with me in direct opposition to you; they would agree, that, if the pure and genuine doctrines of religion and morality *were* indeed then infallibly guarded and inculcated, (which of course they deny; but that *if* the case had been so,) the Church which performed that office, odious profligate though its earthly governor might be, was yet the instrument of unspeakable and incomparable good to the souls of men.

But I have not yet stated even so much as half my case. Times of general laxity and coldness are proverbially succeeded by times of general ardour and enthusiasm. What effect is produced in Protestant countries by this phenomenon? Let the copious history of fanaticism declare. Rival parties, fiercely contending against, and proselytising from, each other, instead of

\* See this general argument at greater length, Second Letter, pp. 59, 77, 78.

unitedly contending against the world, the flesh, and the devil; none able to cope with human nature in its entirety; each holding some miserable fragment of the truth; each sect professing the right of private judgment, and yet each as intolerant of dissent from its peculiar tenets as though it claimed a special revelation from Heaven; until the profession of religious zeal becomes, in the eyes of the many, a mere symbol for contentiousness, narrow-mindedness, and arrogance. Contrast with this the age of revival which succeeded those dark times whereon you comment. With what single unanimity of purpose were the Reformers enabled to proceed on their crusade, and contend against the spiritual evils which had obtained access into the Church! with what unmistakeable clearness were precedents which were already in possession, and moral and doctrinal principles which were already in authority, placed ready to their hand! what untold advantage do we not find them deriving at every step from the fact, that one, and one only, type of religious fervour is deeply impressed on the popular mind! On one side, is simply zeal; on the other side, simply laxity.\* To what were they indebted for these signal, nay indispensable, advantages? To that whole chain, of which John XII. and the rest were necessary links. In a word then, if you are to estimate the full blessings which the infallible guidance of a John XII., no less than of a St. Leo or a St. Gregory, confers on the Church, regard not only the effect of that guidance on contemporary Christians, most important though that be,—regard its effect also in handing down Gospel truth pure and unadulterated to following ages; to ages, whose zeal and fervour will not be content with merely keeping it and as it were hiding it in a napkin, but will *trade* with it, and put it to usury, and gain returns a thousand-fold. That St. Gregory VII. *had* it wherewith to trade, he owed, among the rest, to John XII. and Benedict IX.; or rather, to the Divine guidance by which these Pontiffs were surrounded.

After such considerations as these, your objections are in truth any thing rather than formidable. On the immediate matter indeed of these wicked Popes, I find only one tangible

\* See this more briefly expressed, Second Letter, p. 118.

reply to me, in the whole of the Notice (the Fourth) devoted to that subject. I mentioned in my former Letter (pp. 113, 114), that while it is simply impossible, according even to the strict letter of our doctrines, that a Pope should exercise his spiritual weapons to enjoin any sinful act, it was nevertheless “*abstractedly conceivable* that some command might issue from Rome, on the one hand not directly enjoining any thing immoral, and yet on the other hand enjoining something indifferent, with a manifestly immoral purpose.” As one instance of this, supposing that in some Christian country an ascetic prelate were vigorously contending against evil practices, “it is abstractedly conceivable, so far as the mere *letter* of our doctrine extends,” that from sympathy with those practices, a wicked Pope might deprive such prelate of his jurisdiction.\* And I am sure, from the tone in which you speak, that readers unversed in the history of those times would regard such a thing as a matter of ordinary occurrence; whereas I challenged you to produce one such instance. Similar complaints indeed, though of a less serious nature, *have* been made, specially by writers in your communion, concerning Popes of unblemished life; so far as this, that your writers consider these Pontiffs to have failed in supporting with sufficient vigour such a prelate as St. Thomas of Canterbury, and also to have made undue concessions of one kind or other to the civil power: and I allude to these charges in my last Letter (p. 119). As far indeed as I am able to judge, our writers prove very successfully (the conclusion to which, *à priori*, I should have most strongly inclined,) that these charges are founded in error: but what is remarkable in the case of these *wicked* Popes is, that no such *charges* are made *at all*.

In reply then to my question, how the Popes of whom you are speaking used their “spiritual weapons” for evil purposes, you reply by pointing out that the Papal palace was polluted by excesses; that a Pope used his temporal power for purposes of savage vengeance; that bishops were consecrated for money; and bishoprics given to boys of ten years old: the two

\* I do not mean to imply that *this* would be a case in which the inferior “might be in a state of perplexity and difficulty to know what is his duty” (Second Letter, p. 113), because, of course, his jurisdiction would be *unquestionably* gone.

first of which particulars are simply and undeniably beside the question, and the two last fall altogether short of the particular kind of evil above referred to. You seem indeed yourself to admit, that none of these cases amount to any use of the Pope's "*spiritual weapons*;" and that your only instance of the last is that excommunication of bishops by John XII. which I shall immediately consider.

On the other hand, I wish freely to concede, (retracting what I implied to the contrary in my former Letter,) that you were justified in using the expression, that these Popes "used the holiest place without hindrance for the vilest purposes;" in a general sense indeed, but in one quite true and sufficient. I understood you to mean, that they used the "*spiritual weapons*" afforded them by that place, for such purposes; and this I deny, so far as any facts are concerned which you have produced, or of which I am aware. But in all those particulars above mentioned, no doubt it was, as you say, "their Papal position" which these evil men abused, and that "to the vilest purposes." But in *this* sense the assertion makes surely but a very insignificant figure in the way of argument.

I come then to the one case which you *do* allege of unjustifiable use of spiritual weapons; viz. the excommunication by John XII. of those bishops who professed to depose him. I replied in my last Letter, as you truly quote me, that "few Catholics would not earnestly contend that no Pope could ever be deposed against his will," and that he merely therefore "vindicated the legitimate privileges of his See." On this you rejoin, that such at all events was not the "view taken by the Church of the day;" for that "opposition to the new Pope," *i. e.* anti-Pope as *we* should say, "was abandoned even by those who attempted it," and that the writers of that age, on Baronius' testimony, were led by their detestation of John's vices to favour Otho and his nominee. It is not worth while to spend time in controversy on details: I will only say, that political motives seem to have been quite as much concerned as religious with the whole movement against the Pope; that John XII. in the following year held a council in Rome which deposed Leo; that the whole contest ended with the death both of the anti-Pope Leo and

of John's successor, Benedict V., within two years; and that I cannot even understand your meaning when you say that "opposition to Leo was abandoned even by [all] those who attempted it." I may further observe also, that, on your own statement, even in that dark age, corruption was not so prevalent, but that there was a very universal detestation of the Pope's vices.

But the whole of this is simply irrelevant. The fact remains literally without any attempt on your part to assail it, that the only use of John's "spiritual weapons" to which you object, was his doing an act which (as I said) can by no possibility be urged as a reason against accepting Catholicism; because *in* accepting Catholicism, any one would probably come to consider it an act which he (John XII.) was literally *bound* to do. To enlarge on the great mass of historical evidence on which this principle rests, that no Pope can be deposed against his will; and to point out how very far are the circumstances of this particular period from offering any difficulty against the evidence for this principle; would be to enter on that class of subjects which you have expressly declined to argue. But a thoughtful Catholic cannot fail to be struck with the circumstance, that even John XII., in the one instance where the use of his *distinctly* Papal powers is objected to, is using those powers in the sense of that very tradition, and in behalf of that very prerogative, the maintaining of which was the primary object for which they were given.

For the rest—in order to shew "how comparatively little the general character of the Church was obscured, or its framework destroyed, by the wickedness dominant at Rome," I drew attention first to Fleury's history of those ages.

"I mention Fleury," I said, "because every one knows that (to speak much within bounds) he is a writer who evinces no sort of disposition or inclination to withdraw from notice facts which have a disparaging effect towards the Holy See. It is impossible, within reasonable limits, to give any sufficient idea of what I mean; but let any one see the regular order and course in which Ecclesiastical affairs proceed, the *nurture of Saints, the promotion of holiness*" (p. 115).

This citation you do not think worthy of even mention,



except in a parenthesis; and call it "a general reference to Fleury." If an infidel were to accuse St. Paul of insincerity and ambition, a very far stronger disproof of the charge than any definite producible facts, would be the whole tone, bearing, and scope of his Epistles. But such an unbeliever, if he acted on your principle, might ask, in your own words, "What are the proofs (besides "a general reference to" this man's Epistles) "by which Mr. Ward supports this paradox?" Even if there were *no* others, this would be more than amply sufficient. Of course, a *general* statement is sufficiently met by a *general* answer; and though I cannot think you the most unprejudiced of men where the Catholic religion is concerned, yet if you were to aver that you had read through these chapters of Fleury, and derived from them a different impression, my argument would so far fall to the ground. I wish nothing more than that you, and those who feel with you, would fairly make the experiment; your objections, I am persuaded, could not remain.

My special illustrations of the same thing were, 1st, the fact that St. Dunstan was greatly assisted in his work of ascetic reformation in England by his quality as legate of this very John XII.; 2d, that in the tenth and eleventh centuries we find "as nearly as possible fifty Saints," all "with the unmistakeable marks of that one type of character, which so singularly separates off the Christian Saint from all other men whatever;" and, finally, the account given by an excellent writer of your own communion on the early days of St. Gregory VII. After putting down at length this latter account, which belongs (as I said) to a period when the Church was governed, 1st, by "a profligate Pontiff," and 2d, by one who, after his election, "plunged into every species of debauchery and crime;" I thus summed up the facts:

"After nearly two centuries of distraction, confusion, and frequent vice, in high places at Rome, still one and one only recognised type of the Christian character; one and one only idea of virtue held out to those who wish to pursue it; in the close neighbourhood of Rome itself, satisfactory ecclesiastical education supplied; at Cluni, the monastic system "existing in the fullest perfection;" the emperor so possessed with the true idea of Christianity, as to be deeply affected by zealous and ascetic preaching; Rome finally made the dwelling-place of this

austere and unsparing reformer (St. Gregory VII.), without the very idea crossing a reader's mind of *ecclesiastical censures* being conceivably incurred" (pp. 117, 118).

These facts certainly do not prove that "God's work was not *impeded* by the scandals" at Rome; but I never said they did. They *do* prove the conclusions for which they were adduced, in shewing "how *comparatively* little the *general character* of the Church was obscured, or its *framework destroyed*;" which is a very different thing. Your only notice of them is, that you "leave them to fall by their own weight; for that the most significant of them, so far as they prove any thing, prove the very contrary of" my "thesis." Let the reader judge.

So much on this particular calamity of wicked Popes and Bishops. On the more general question, your objections may be answered with equal facility; or indeed hardly require any other answer, than the distinctly explaining my original assertion. This assertion was twofold (p. 103): 1st, "that the whole idea of the Church's office, as deduced from Scripture and Church History, would be absolutely overthrown and revolutionised by any recognised admission of heretics into religious communion;" and 2d, "that no such result, nor the most distant approach to such a result, follows from the present practice of admitting orthodox believers, even the most immoral, to a participation in every ordinance, except the Sacraments themselves." As was to be expected from your previous course of argument, you do not very materially object to the former of these propositions, but you make the warmest and most earnest opposition possible to the second.

In regard to the former indeed, you say (Sixth Notice), that "remembering that heretics are just as free to attend the worship and observances of the Roman Church as orthodox profligates . . . ." you "find some difficulty in understanding the precise force of this argument;" a difficulty however, which I venture to hope that a few words will suffice to remove. No doubt misbelievers of every kind are admitted most freely to attend and witness the public devotions of the Church; and the happiest results frequently flow, from the effect produced on

them by what they hear and see. But let us suppose that a number of men, avowedly not submitting in doctrine to the voice of the Church, were to go on day after day, on system, taking *an active part* in the people's devotions; joining them in their rosaries and hymns; going along with them on the "Via Crucis," or the various pilgrimages of the year; and generally, in ways too numerous to specify, claiming to be their brethren. No one can doubt that in such a case, unless (which is far more probable) the spontaneous piety of the faithful in keeping aloof from such men spared her the necessity, the Church would exercise that power of discipline which all admit she has in reserve, and would forbid the faithful from all such religious intercourse. She would do this for the reasons which I gave (pp. 105-7), and which you excellently sum up; that such intercourse, and such regarding of heterodox men in the light of brethren, "would affect the Church's power of propagating the pure and unadulterated truth; by infusing into her practical teaching a spirit of falsehood too subtle to be always identified with any formal propositions, though in fact springing from them, and therefore capable of being expelled with them." In fact, for the very same reason, as I argued a few pages back, which made such exclusion important in Apostolic times also.

But you proceed to ask, "Is not all this as absolutely true of *vice*?" I answer, in the case of such vicious men as I spoke of, certainly not. Let us proceed then to consider distinctly, in what general state of mind those wicked men are, of whom my language shews that I was speaking in my last Letter. For example (to take an extreme case), no one will suppose that I meant to speak of men, who, even although firm believers, are yet so frightfully irreligious and blasphemous, as to come to church for the mere purpose of openly mocking and deriding the worship going on. This, I need hardly say, would be nowhere tolerated; much less would its toleration be defended: though I suppose indeed its very existence among Catholics has been most rare. But again, in the second place, if we suppose simple hypocrisy in the common sense of the word; if we suppose a man, for his own evil purposes, to make a *show* of religion, and be punctual and diligent in religious observances, this also is not here

under consideration. Such a man would simulate the exemplary discharge of his social, no less than of his religious, duties; and his case has no concern with the use or disuse of discipline, because (as is at once evident) no discipline of any kind could possibly reach it. This also, on the whole (so far at least as Catholics are concerned), must be esteemed a very *rare* phenomenon.

It is more to the purpose to observe, that if men fancy that by zealous and constant ritual observances, they *make up* (as one may say) in the sight of God for moral wickedness; if they think there is no need of curbing their evil passions, and conquering their evil habits, so only they are frequent at Mass, or say their beads, or practise devotion to our Blessed Lady; these men are neither included in the letter nor in the spirit of what I have said. This, though perhaps on first thoughts it may appear strange, on second thoughts will rather appear *obvious*: for it *is* obvious that those who distinctly and explicitly hold such opinions, are distinct and explicit *heretics*; and that those who are more or less unconsciously swayed by such miserable superstition, are precisely to that extent enslaved to an heretical spirit: and no one will say that I have underrated the importance of expelling every kind of *heretical* spirit from the Visible Church. This is evidently the very heresy contemplated by the Holy Ghost, in that passage of Isaias, which you quote as though applicable against *me*. "To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices? saith the Lord," &c. It is the very account given by all commentators on Jewish formalism, as it is that given by our Blessed Saviour of the Pharisees at a later period, that they regarded ritual observances as a *compensation* for the absence of moral. In regard to which most odious superstition, I will make three observations, and so dismiss the subject.

1. It is a superstition to whose incursions every form of religion is exposed; but in regard to which, no form of Protestantism can bear the most distant possible approach to the Catholic, in the anxious and elaborate pains taken to guard against it. For every Catholic knows that if he wilfully omits going to confession at Easter, he is in a state of enmity to God: and let him but once go thither, he will have to undergo so accurate an in-

quiry on each one Commandment, as to leave little chance of his not *knowing* what those duties are, without the performance of which he cannot hope for Heaven; whether or no he will *practise* them. No one, not conversant with our books on moral theology, can have the least idea of the pains taken, that each priest, who has faculties for hearing confessions, shall be competently acquainted with the whole circle of man's social duties. 2. In case this superstition were really gaining ground in any part of Christendom, I most readily admit, or rather it is the very principle which I *maintain*, that it is incumbent on the Church to make the most active and vigorous use of her spiritual powers to repress the aggression. But (3.) I must take leave altogether to doubt whether, in point of fact, it *be* otherwise than *most* uncommon, among those evil livers who may be found in frequent attendance at religious exercises. The mere fact indeed that such persons *are* so present, is commonly taken by Protestants as sufficient, without further proof, to shew that this superstition is their motive; a kind of reasoning which will be sufficiently refuted by what I am now going to say.

There remains then the class of men, of whom I *did* intend to speak, and who are very far more common in Catholic countries than Protestants can bring themselves even to imagine. I speak of those who pay a real and sincere homage to sacred things; who have the deepest veneration for the Blessed Saints, and so for the whole idea of Christian sanctity; who fully hope to repent before they die, and live on that hope; but who are entangled in the meshes of sin, and do not, as a matter of fact, exercise that fervent prayer, that constant self-restraint, that anxious watchfulness against occasions, which is necessary for their deliverance. And no doubt at all, if a priest sees such persons as these beginning to unite themselves fervently with the rest of the flock in such exercises as I was above speaking of, so far from wishing (as he would in the case of heretics) to interpose any *check*, he would view it with the utmost sympathy and delight. As I said in my last letter, a heretic seeks religious meetings with a *fanatical* purpose: but if such a Catholic as I describe goes there *at all*, he goes there in a right spirit; there

is nothing to fear from it, and every thing to hope;\* his prayers are the very best means to obtain strength for leading a better life; he is brought into the way of hearing sermons and religious addresses; and, I may add, the oftener he is at church, the more painfully he is reminded of his unspeakable loss, in being deprived, by his sins, of participation in the Sacraments.

After this explanation, it is hardly necessary specifically to notice your replies: I will proceed, however, to do so. You ask, "Are not wicked men as skilful and assiduous proselytisers to their vice, as heretics to their error?" In the case of such wicked men as are here in question, evidently the very reverse; and if they were, it is not at the moment of joining in prayer and pious practices, that they would exercise such proselytism with much hope of success. "Have not the prevalence of mal-practices within the Church introduced into the very Confessional a corrupt and degraded casuistry?" Of course every state of things tends indirectly to the encouragement of one misbelief or other. If the modern discipline were more or less the occasion of a corruptly lax doctrine on morality,—a doctrine however which was at once suppressed by the Holy See;—the earlier discipline gave occasion, on the opposite side, to the heretical

\* You speak, by the way, of my "extraordinary list of credenda," because (p. 105), while making mention of our blessed Lady, I omit specific mention of her Son. It would have been only common fairness, even if my words of themselves did fairly bear any objectionable construction, to take into account my Letter as a whole; and in page 9 (not to mention several other places) I expressly designate, as worthy of the highest honour, "a temper of personal and fervent love for our Adorable Saviour,"—which surely is explicit enough.

But if you will look with even a little care at the passage you criticise, instead of founding so fearfully grave a charge on a mere first impression, you will see my meaning plainly enough. I am not drawing out any "list of credenda" at all, but contrasting *practice* with *belief* point by point. Thus, 1. "a Catholic may pass years upon years without going to confession;" yet, 1, "he has continued most firmly to *believe* that, unless he repent, eternal ruin will be his portion." 2. "He may pass years upon years without worshipping God;" yet, 2, he believes "that the love of God is the highest of virtues:"—(of course, in the idea of a Catholic's "*love of God*" and "*worshipping God*," is most prominently included his love and worship towards our dearest Saviour; for is He *not* God?) 3. He may go on without "invoking our blessed Lady;" yet, 3, he believes that she "is the unwearied advocate of sinners." 4. He may go on "in the lap of luxury and vice;" yet, 4, he believes "that asceticism and mortification," &c. 5. He may ill treat those "more pious than himself;" yet, 5, he believes "that the humblest Catholics, regular at their duties, are in a far higher," &c. What sort of criticism then is yours?

Novatians and Donatists: far more proud and self-willed misbelievers, and who gave incomparably more trouble to the Church of their day.

There remains to be noticed your observation, that "the toleration of great and impenitent wickedness in any religious Society, exercises a subtle power in lowering the tone of conversation, and the recognised standard of religious practice; and infuses a habit of irreverent, careless, and worldly judgment." There is no doubt at all that these evils follow in the case of each individual; his standard of religious practice is lowered; his judgment becomes irreverent, careless, and worldly; in exact proportion as he surrenders himself to the influences of general society, or of what all our ascetic writers call "the world." For this reason, it is one of the very principal duties of a director, to give his penitents the most solemn warning against so surrendering themselves; and to assist them with practical rules for keeping as far aloof from the world as their particular duties allow, and as the particular line of their vocation renders expedient.\* Now no one can read ever so cursorily our ascetical books, without seeing what great care is taken for this object. Your observation then has no force even *prima facie* as an argument, except on the assumption that this removal from the worldly spirit would be made more easy, if all grievous sinners were excommunicated; an assumption not merely *untrue*, but almost *unmeaning*. And the more so, because, as I urged in my last Letter (p. 110), such faults as unspirituality of mind, lukewarmness, worldliness, ambition, love of power and distinction, censoriousness, avariciousness, and the like, which are the real source from whence this evil spirit flows, and which so conspicuously draw the mind from a simple and child-like love of God, these would be, even under the most rigid ecclesiastical discipline, as rife among members of the Church as they can be now.

Here then I close my case; having, as I consider, fully vindicated my position against all your assaults: as indeed little

\* I mean by this last of course, that there are very great numbers who would suffer very far greater spiritual detriment by their director's attempting to overstrain the bow, than by a wise permission of such amusements and the like as are clear of actual sin.

more was necessary, in order to do so, than simply to state more clearly and explicitly the particulars in which you had misunderstood my meaning. In my former Letter I drew a parallel from the principles of natural religion, which you criticise with some severity. I will gladly withdraw it from the controversy, because my argument has now been explained as clearly as I am able to explain it, and would derive no additional light from a vindication of this analogy; which, on the other hand, might occupy considerable space and attention. I will merely point out, as indications of the answer I should make, that I expressly drew attention to the fact, that according to our doctrine, there is *no invincible ignorance* of the *first principles of morality*: whereas, in the case of *special Christian doctrines*, the case is notoriously the reverse; and the very circumstance of the high and admirable virtues presented in Ken's spotless life, would give us the strongest presumption that his was a case of it. And again, I was supposing the case of *active opposition* to the truth; whereas Ken was practically removed out of the sphere of what we believe the full truth, and was in fact, all through his life, far more energetically opposed to error than to truth. On the other hand, where I speak of "the company and conversation" of the misbeliever being in itself "less corrupting" than that of the orthodox evil-doer, I admit that I fairly lay myself open to your criticism, I did not distinctly express, probably I did not even keep in my mind at the moment with sufficient steadiness, the distinction on which, otherwise, all through my argument I laid the whole stress. Evil-doers, *in the general throng of society*, may be fully as corrupting and contagious as heretics, or indeed very much more so; but it is not when they join their fellow-believers in *religious exercises*, that such corrupting influence can possibly exist.\*

\* I propose in this note to vindicate the comparison made in my last Letter, between the state of mind evinced in the crimes of John XII. on the one hand, and, on the other hand, in certain tenets held by "the whole mass of ordinary men in modern England." I had said that this consideration was "quite unessential to the course of my reasoning" (p. 109); and if, on reflection, I found reason to retract it, the general line of argument in my former Letter would therefore in no way suffer. In such a case, certainly, I should have great cause to express repentance and shame for having, without sufficient thought, expressed so severe an imputation on the practical effect of Protestantism; yet I humbly trust that, if the cause of truth had seemed to require



V. The discussion between yourself, sir, and me, turns so much more on principles than on details, that the chief stress of the controversy is now terminated. Let us sum up the case, and see where we are.

Christianity, on coming into the world (see Second Letter, pp. 63, 4), was communicated to mankind in general, not as an

it, I should not have shrunk from such an acknowledgment, however humiliating. Nor would the arguments contained in my former Letters have thereby lost any *intrinsic* force they may possess; though the writer's *personal* claims on attention would undoubtedly have been reduced to a lower position, even than that which was theirs before.

I cannot however, on reconsideration, qualify my former statement. It was expressed with the deliberation due to so serious a matter, and with the same deliberation I now repeat it. I must premise however two obvious explanations; one of which at least (to my surprise) has failed spontaneously to suggest itself to your mind.

The first of these explanations you may probably yourself have anticipated. I have alleged that certain tenets held, "speaking on the whole and in the long run," by the whole mass of men in modern England—reserving however certain exceptions, which I specify—imply, "in the way of natural and probable inference," "a heart" far more "blinded by the world and by the devil," and far more "alienated from God," than John XIIth's sins imply. Tenets which are held by a mass of men may prove, with the utmost certainty, the prevalence of a certain deplorable state of mind *in that mass*; but not, of course, in each single person of that mass. There may be several individuals, who have merely caught up, without reflection, modes of thinking and speaking prevalent around them, but which are neither, on the one hand, the natural *result* and *expression*, as it were, of their own character; nor, on the other hand, are in any such sense really appropriated and believed as to produce (what I maintain to be) their natural effect *on* that character. I am far indeed from wishing to deny the existence of such exceptional instances; and the greater their number, the more of course should I be pleased. But I keep to my point: I maintain that the cases where the evil *dispositions* I specified are *not* evinced, are simply those where the evil *tenets* which I specified are not really and influentially held.

My second explanatory remark is, that you have mixed up, in your reply, two things essentially and widely distinct; two things, the confusing of which with each other must be absolutely fatal to all clearness of thought and reasoning on the matter in hand. It is one thing to speak, for instance, of "a heart blinded by the world and the devil," and quite another thing—a thing as different from the former as one thing *can* be from another—to pronounce on the degree in which the individual is personally *to blame* for possessing such a heart.

Test the thing by an extreme case, every one will at once see this. You remember how much has been said, as to the fearful condition of the poor in the crowded manufacturing districts. It is not necessary to inquire whether the picture is or is not overdrawn: at all events, the state of things described is *fully conceivable*, and will therefore serve as an illustration. Let us imagine then the state of those nurtured among such phenomena. From their earliest years never have they heard the name of God, except for purposes of blasphemy; never has there been so much as the attempt to teach them purity and self-restraint; never have they apprehended (so

assemblage of doctrines defined and catalogued once for all; nor, still less, as a collection of sacred books from which every one was to derive his religion; but as the present and practical teaching of a Living Authority. No one in Apostolic times could be a Christian at all, without joining a certain organised Society, from whose governors he was to learn the doctrines of his new

far as human eyes discern) the very elementary ideas, as to duty towards God or the obligations of morality. Their reason, on first awakening, finds them slaves to shameless vice, which they have learned naturally and simply by the way of example. Are not their hearts indeed, in a fearful and (to us) almost inconceivable degree, "blinded by the world and the devil," and "alienated from God?" And yet, when we come to the question of their personal *responsibility*, how different must be our verdict! Without doubting for one moment all that faith may teach, as to the real power possessed by each individual of knowing better,—yet still how comparatively *small* seems their personal guilt, in falling into those miserable abysses of wickedness. Take the case of a child carefully and wisely brought up by pious parents, who both carefully tend him and fervently pray for him; if *he* falls into sins, which, as to their inherent magnitude, are incomparably *less* than those other abominations, yet, "in the way of natural and probable inference," is not his personal guilt incomparably *greater*?

And so again, when a heathen people, who may think perhaps that impurity and cruelty are the most acceptable sacrifices they can offer to the Supreme Being, when these are converted to Christianity, every one would speak of their mere conversion to the true *faith* (apart from the subsequent question how they will act upon it) as a deliverance of them from the empire of Satan. Of course, the grace given in Baptism is one reason for this; but besides, the mere fact that their *ideas* of God and of morality have been revolutionised, is in itself a bringing them far nearer to God. Yet, so far as personal *responsibility* is concerned, their sins as Christians (being committed against so much clearer light) will be far more grievous than those former superstitions in which they had been trained, and which they had never been taught to call in question.

Far indeed then am I from maintaining, that John XIIth's sins are less grievous in the way of *personal responsibility*, than the evil dispositions prevalent among Protestants. The very contrary: in proportion as one thinks with detestation of Protestantism as a religious system or discipline, in that proportion one thinks more leniently as to the *responsibility* of individual Protestants. And on the other hand, that, in the sense I have above explained, Catholics are far more inexcusable if they lead bad lives than any other men whatever, is a very commonplace of Catholic morality; one of the ideas most continually met with in Catholic sermons and books; and one which we Catholics, for our spiritual edification, are bound most carefully to bear in mind.

Having now then made clear my meaning, let me at once proceed to illustrate and vindicate it. I assume that John XII. all through his life sincerely and unafectedly believed (as he beyond question externally professed) the Catholic Faith: I am not aware of any grounds for doubting this, nor do you yourself apparently doubt it; at all events, it is on that assumption that my remarks were made, as is obvious from my concluding sentence, which you do not quote: "*wherever the light of faith is retained, and the Church's doctrines unfeignedly believed, the mind is saved from those simply grovelling and carnal notions*" (p. 110). On the other

religion. No one could even conceivably be a member of that Society, who doubted the infallible authority of its governors in what they taught as revealed doctrine; and no one, of course, remained a member of that Society, who voluntarily left it: but sins and scandals of various kinds from the first existed, and that to no very limited extent, *within* this same Society.

hand, I accept also, for argument's sake, your own summary of this Pope's crimes: "most brutal and unscrupulous profligacy, sacrilege, simony, blasphemy, incest, disgusting mutilations of his enemies, and murder." On which list however I remarked (p. 109), that "such faults"—I mean the more violent and brutal of them—"were the faults of barbarous times; of times when public opinion had incomparably less force than at present; and when, therefore, if the fear of God were away, there was little else to restrain men from the most flagrant excesses." And I proceeded as follows: "Nor do I deem it any paradox to maintain, that even the worst among such iniquities as you specify, do not, in the way of natural and probable inference, imply a heart nearly so blinded by the world and the devil, and nearly so alienated from God, as does such an absolute ignoring of His claims, and of the supernatural in general, as characterises the very public opinion, and infects (not exceptional profligates alone, but) the whole mass of men in modern England. I mean such a tone of mind as is evinced in those animadversions on the purely contemplative life, which we so frequently hear; or the grave allegation in controversy, as of a serious argument, of the circumstance that Catholicism is less favourable than Protestantism to temporal security, convenience, and comforts; . . . or the regarding almost as Methodistical rant the expressions of burning and passionate love, in which the Saints have ever vented the deep feelings of their hearts towards God."

You maintain that "these views" are so extravagant, that "it is hardly possible to argue with a person who holds them;" I maintain, on the contrary, that they are simply Christian and true: and on this point issue is joined.

To explain my meaning, I will take a case which is not so much as parallel, but from which we may argue with indefinite force *à fortiori*. Let us suppose two classes of men, each of whom has received unspeakable blessings from some great Benefactor, and both of whom have, in their different ways, repaid these blessings with frightful ingratitude. The former class have, in a vast number of the gravest particulars, directly contravened his known wishes; they have been insulting towards himself, and in the mere wantonness of self-will heaped scoffs and ignominies on his name; they have shamelessly outraged that virtue which they knew he, in a very special manner, prized;\* they have been bloody, cruel, and remorseless towards those companions whom, as they knew, he tenderly loved. On the other hand, they have never wavered in firmly believing, and in frankly admitting, that such crimes are both most odious and most offensive to their benefactor, and, unless repented, will infallibly, and most justly, draw down on them his righteous and most terrible indignation. They have ever believed and professed, that the highest duty of such as themselves is to love and serve this benefactor; and that those who so act, that those whose life is one holocaust in his service, are in an unspeakably higher and more blessed position than themselves; that sin such as theirs is so terrible an evil, as to require an indefinitely great satisfaction to compensate its enormity. The second class, on the other hand, make it their very profession and boast, that

\* I allude here to the sins of impurity which you mention.

Nor was this polity "merely a temporary one, intended to last during the life-time of the Apostles;" rather it was "intended to be commensurate in its duration with Christianity itself." For this proposition I have brought together, from our controversialists, an amount of proof and illustration in my last Letter (pp. 64-71), to which, until I see a reply attempted,

hardly any direct duties are *owed* to this Being, who has so loaded them with benefits; they make it their very profession and boast, that they lay the whole stress of moral obligation on rendering kindnesses to their companions, who have either done them no service at all, or only done it as the mere instruments and machines of the One Great Benefactor. All expressions of burning and passionate love to Him this class regard as the mere wildness of fanaticism: the love of a citizen to his country they admire; with the passionate devotion of a mother to her child, they sympathise; but when these feelings are directed to Him who alone is worthy of them, they have but expressions of sneering scepticism or cold disapproval. That men should wish to spend their lives in direct communication with, and immediate service of, this Benefactor, they regard (not as being in fact forbidden by Him, for that is quite a different matter; but) as in itself unworthy of a reasonable being; as a thing quite paltry and narrow-minded, in comparison with the *lofty* object, of rearing a reputation among beings of the same puny nature as themselves; or of gaining influence over these latter; or, at the very best, of performing benevolent and kindly actions in their regard. A life of solitary commune with this Being they regard rather as *death* than life. Is it not rather a truism than a "paradox" to assert, that the minds of this latter class are even more "alienated from" this great Benefactor than the minds of the former? In the latter case, the very recognition of His claims has so faded from men's minds, that those claims cannot so much as be distinctly asserted, without eliciting expressions of hatred or contempt.

As to the "bustling Lady Bountifuls" and "hard-working country parsons," of whom you make respectful mention, nothing surely is more self-evident, than that even the most devoted *philanthropy* (were such a case possible) would not evince any the slightest tendency of the heart towards *God*, except so far as it should proceed from the motive of duty towards God and in connexion with His will. It is logically *conceivable*, that there may be the most disinterested love for one's fellow-men, where the love of God is altogether absent; it is found in *practice* that great benevolence of a *certain kind* often so exists: nor is it unnatural that *we*, who are those fellow-men, and in whose behalf such actions are exerted, should have our hearts tenderly move towards one who loves us, and view him with a grateful and favourable eye. The real question is, what we should think of these actions and their doers, in proportion as we were to become *saintly* and sensitively jealous for the honour of *God*; above all, how God Himself regards them.

Now I know not how there can well be a more convincing proof, "in the way of natural and probable inference," that such kindnesses are done, *not* for God's sake, but from motives of merely human affection, than appears in such habits of mind as that which I specified. That a man's mental vision, in the very formation of his principles and opinions, is almost exclusively absorbed by earthly and visible objects, is the plainest proof that these are loved for their own sake, and not for the sake of what is *invisible*; and no one can question that it *is* so absorbed, if every thing which exclusively *relates* to the invisible is hated or despised. How can it be said, for ex-

I must content myself with saying, that I am not aware of any *possible* answer.

Accordingly (p. 72), from that day to this, there has always been one, and never more than one, organised Society, which claims to be this one Catholic Church, divinely commissioned to teach and to govern. From this Church, as from the Apostolic, heresy separates on the one hand, and schism on the other: while wickedness, as such, does *not* separate; but, in various

ample, without simple absurdity, that a man loves his brethren mainly on seeing *God* in them, if he regards those as weak and narrow-minded who yearn to see *God* in *Himself*? How can it be said that he regards his duties to his neighbours mainly as means of preparing himself for Heaven, if he thinks contemptuously of that mode of existence which, beyond the possibility of question, is the nearest *similitude* to heaven that this life affords? How can it be said that he sincerely believes the object of religion to be principally and paramountly the purifying and sanctifying of the soul, if he tests the claims of rival religions by their effect on "temporal security, conveniences, and comforts?" How can it be for *God's* sake that he fervently loves his relations and friends, if he regards the very profession of fervent love to *God* "almost as Methodistical rant?"

The principle I maintain then is simply this: 1st, that if we would save our soul, we must both recognise our duties to *God* and in a certain consistent degree fulfil them; but 2d, that he who recognises them, even without the slightest attempt at fulfilling them, is at least "not nearly *so* blinded by the world and the devil, or nearly *so* alienated from *God*," as he whose very perceptions of *duty* have been corrupted and overthrown, and who, even in *principle* as well as in practice, prefers the creature to the Creator. Nor, 3d, can I admit that acts of benevolence, however extensive, founded on merely human and earthly motives, afford us any excuse for mitigating this severe censure.

To prevent possible misconception, it may be better to add two brief observations. I have spoken of the utmost philanthropy as abstractedly *conceivable*, apart from practical reference to the Divine Will; but I must not be supposed to concede that in practice such will ever be the case, in any very high and noble degree: most signally and emphatically the contrary. Those shallow and frivolous tenets which represent benevolence as the sum and substance of virtue, give no such support and encouragement to human nature, as to fit men for that abandoning self-sacrifice which must be at the root of true benevolence; nor (admitting a small number of exceptional instances) is it too much to say on the whole, that where the *profession* is simple benevolence, the *practice* will tend to be disguised selfishness. And indeed if we take even the highest specimens, how can they bear even a moment's comparison with the unwearied labours of Sisters of Charity and Mercy, and the various charitable confraternities of the Church? Nay, let the cholera or some such pestilence burst over the land, what does the boasting philanthropist accomplish, in comparison with even the matter-of-course and routine labours of the unpretending missionary priest?

Still, secondly, I would by no means deny that there *may* be, to a certain extent, real disinterestedness, where the thought of *God* is absent; and I wish to point out, that Catholic Theology in no way leads us to suppose, that such excellence is necessarily without benefit to its possessor in regard to his future prospects. We may not indeed suppose that such merely human virtue *impetrates* grace, even *de con-*

shapes, exists *within* her. Catholics are *one* in the spiritual government to which they are subjected; one (eminently, unmistakably one) in the *doctrines* which they profess; indefinitely varying from each other in their degrees of goodness or of badness: some Saints of the most exalted perfection, others sinners of the deepest dye. In exact proportion as external pressure was removed, and regenerate human nature left to exhibit its tendency under its new circumstances, in that proportion,

*gruo*; but, whereas God, at one time or other, visits all mankind with His most free and gratuitous grace, except so far as they on their part interpose a barrier, we may well indulge the hope, that in such a case as the above, where selfishness, the special foe to grace, is in some degree absent, there *may* be no such barrier as to interfere with the workings of God in the soul.

The whole subject is so far removed from the general argument of my Letter, that had I had any idea of originating so lengthened a discussion, I should assuredly have omitted all reference to it; and for the same reason, having now sufficiently vindicated my meaning, I will pass on. Otherwise, were this a fitting occasion, I should much wish to dwell on those habits of thought, which it is hardly too much to call practical Atheism;—that ignoring of God's personal intervention in the affairs of life;—that dealing with Him as an abstraction rather than a living Person;—that impatience of the very allegation of His claims, and of the duties and the love we owe Him;—which have been such fearful companions of Protestantism throughout its course: and of which it may be truly said, that they do more in preventing the progress of Catholicism, than do all other obstacles, moral and intellectual, put together. I am sorry however that you omitted to quote one passage, which would have shewn my anxiety to make all the exceptions and qualifications I found myself able to make: for I expressly said, that the evil tendencies I spoke of have been diminished in extent, "since the 'Evangelical' movement in the last century, and the movement to which you profess adhesion in this" (p. 109).

I have further to explain, that when I observed that "such faults as those to which you draw attention were the faults of barbarous times," I referred to the more brutal and violent of their number. "The vices of Alexander VI., who lived in the golden age of Italian refinement," as you truly observe, were very grievous; I intended no more than that John XIIth's were not in themselves, and considering the circumstances of his time, of a more flagitious character, though at first reading they would seem so.

I will now conclude this long note with observing, that when, in answer to the foregoing observation of mine, you rejoin that, "if violence and licentiousness are to be excused as the vices of barbarism, heresy or unbelief might, on the same principles, be palliated as proper to civilisation," you fall into that confusion of ideas on which I have already remarked. As far as my reasoning is concerned, I might most fully admit, (what on other grounds however does not seem to me certain,) that heresy is a sin to which a state of civilisation is peculiarly exposed. The question is not, in what degree, under particular circumstances, men are *responsible* for falling into such misbelief as that above commented on, but in what degree such misbelief implies "alienation from God," and subjection to the "blinding" influences of "the world and the devil." I shewed above how absolutely and totally distinct are these two questions.

at every period, has the same general picture of moral corruption been presented on the broad surface of the Church. “*No man*,” says St. Cyprian, speaking of contemporary Catholics, “gives heed to the day of the Lord and the anger of God; while the Lord bids us sell, we *buy and heap up*.” Again, he speaks of “priests wanting in religious devotedness, ministers in entireness of faith; ties of marriage formed with unbelievers; *false swearing heard*; men *sundered by unabating quarrels*; *numerous Bishops* taking possession of estates *by fraudulent proceedings*.” “At what time,” says Origen, “are there not in the Church money-changers who need the whip of Jesus?” for there is “a *multitude* of irrational beasts whose wild savageness the sweetness of faith has not been able to tame.” And still more conspicuously, during the whole period which begins with the Nicene Era; when St. Augustine lays it down as a sort of general *principle*, rather than a mere fact, that the wicked ever mix with the good within the Church, “as wicked Judas” with the Eleven; and that the good are even few “in comparison with the greater number of the bad.” That this very same fact then is equally found in the Catholic Church of the present day, so far from being an objection, literally is one further note of divinity added to those numberless notes otherwise existing; one further of those particulars which so demonstrably and overwhelmingly prove the identity of this Church, with the Church bearing the same name of Catholic, in every age up to the Apostolic.

I suppose it is not very probable that you can so mistake what I have hitherto written, as to imagine me to imply that the Catholic Church is *indifferent* to the fearful evil of moral wickedness; or that the abandonment of the particular *form* of discipline which once existed, involves an abandonment of active measures for the promotion of holiness, and a contentment with the mere denunciation of God’s future wrath against sinners. So immeasurably, I had almost said so ludicrously, wide of the truth would be any such supposition, that in fact, as Father Newman has so powerfully shewn (“Difficulties,” Lect. 8), it is quite impossible so much as to understand her every-day exhibition, to reduce her habitual proceedings into consistency and harmony, or even to comprehend their *meaning*, until we have well under-

stood the contrary fact; the fact, that the care of the individual soul, the rescuing it from Satan, the fortifying it against temptation, the training it in God's fear and love, is that one paramount object, for which she willingly sacrifices (if necessary) any merely secular and temporal advantage, and (far more) all appearance of order, completeness, and outward circumstance. To draw any such inference as I above supposed, would be so fundamentally to mistake my meaning, that you will allow me perhaps, not merely to refer to, but to cite bodily, two passages in my former Letter.

“ It is a plain matter of fact (as I said before), that God has not given to all Christians, whether in the Apostolic, or in any subsequent period, such efficacious grace as shall purify their will, and make them holy. As far as we see, it would have been a great blessing had He done so; but He has not. So that one cannot say, that in any age the Church has been in such sense holy, as that all who have received her faith, and had access to her Sacraments, have duly profited by them. But in *this* sense she is holy, that she has in every age used her endeavours to stem the ever-flowing flood of evil, and guide securely heavenwards those whose hearts lead them to desire it. In very early ages she did this, as in many other ways, so also by severe rules of fasting and abstinence for all; and by a severe course of penance, as the condition of restoration to those who had fallen into grievous sin. In modern times, she has altogether abrogated the latter, and very greatly modified the former. Her weapons have been of a different kind, but surely not less efficacious. She has most earnestly recommended frequent Confession and Communion, and commanded it at least once a year. She has devised a powerful machinery for drawing the many towards God: such as, on the one hand, her public missions; her constant preachings; her confraternities; the indulgences, by which she draws her children to various most beautiful devotions; the chain of holy observances, with which, as with a sort of routine, she binds round the whole of daily life, that in the occupation of earth they may not forget Heaven; and again, the lives of Saints, which she has provided in such variety and profusion for the edification of the people, and which are so unspeakably impressive on the imagination of uneducated men, and so singularly imbue their mind with true Christian principle: on the other hand, her holy images and pictures, and especially the constant presence of the Crucifix; the attraction of religious music and ceremonial;



the sweet devotion to our dearest Lady, which seizes, as by a sort of spell, on the hearts and imaginations of the most careless, ever soliciting them to higher and purer aspirations, and drawing many (almost in spite of themselves) to the thought and worship of her Son. But in no other way has the Church so powerfully and extensively influenced the many, as in that other part of her office, the careful training of the few. To those who are called to an interior and spiritual life, she offers a choice among an indefinite number of religious orders and congregations, according to each man's special character, and the special dealings of God with his soul; or if they be called rather to remain in the world, she offers them, *in* the world, full guidance towards perfection. She has mapped out, as it were, our spiritual nature; and educates a special class of men in the great work of guiding souls, not on any mere random hap-hazard maxims, but on stable and scientific principles; principles, to the formation of which all her past experience has been brought to bear. For those who are destined to the priesthood, and so to a life of celibacy, she has provided seminaries, in which (to pass over all else) no one thing is made the object of so special and singular care, as the preserving their imaginations pure and unsullied. For those who wish to retire for a brief space from the heat and dust of the world, to refresh and invigorate their communion with God, or to decide on their future vocation, or even to consult God's will on some minor matter of duty, she has provided an elaborate and profound system, carried out by priests specially educated for that very purpose, and familiarised with its practical working. From persons so trained to the priesthood, or to the interior life, there radiates, as it were, an atmosphere of holiness through the Church, drawing many to follow the same example, and many more at least to admire it, though they follow it not."

The other passage alluded to is the following:

"And truly, to the broad, straightforward sense of the words, without any evasion or explaining away, I most fully assent and submit. Every one of course will say, that to judge of the fruits of holiness, some certain qualifications are necessary in the critic; some spirituality of mind, and some progress in holiness. Every one also will say, that the value of a religion is tested by its effect on those who act upon it, not those who disregard its lessons. I do then most unhesitatingly maintain, that whether we compare ordinary or extraordinary cases;—whether we compare the lives of those Catholics who are punctual in what the Church calls their 'duties,' Confession and Communion, with

the lives of any other men whatever, who are punctual in the observances which *their* religion prescribes as duties;—or whether we compare the highest patterns of sanctity in the Catholic Church, with those of any other community;—the superiority on our side is so striking and overwhelming, as to be a note of the Church, equalling in cogency any other whatever.”

On which your comment, already quoted, is as follows: This is “a page,” you say, “to shew that the Roman Catholic Church, viewed in certain aspects, does possess the note of sanctity in a degree which proves overwhelmingly the truth of her mission: *a statement which we have never failed to acknowledge*”\* (Fourth Notice). I hold most confidently indeed, that there is no one

\* This is perhaps as suitable a place as I can find, to notice another of your replies. In one of your original articles (“Anglo-Romanism,” No. V.) you spoke of the facility with which “tyrants, libertines, extortioners, drunkards,” and the like, if kings, were enabled to “occupy a place within the Christian brotherhood,” “subject only to the necessity of finding a lenient confessor;” adding some of the passages quoted by Pascal, to shew how little *this* condition was worth. This quotation from Pascal’s opponents, as I understand it, was given as the probable explanation of what you regarded as a broad fact in history; viz. that these wicked kings were not repelled from the sacraments. I answered, that it *was* indeed a broad fact that they were not *excommunicated*; but that it did not therefore follow with the smallest semblance of probability, that they *approached the sacraments*. I added, giving my reasons for the opinion, “that I was convinced the cases are most extremely rare of such kings,” if unrepentant, “going to communion at all:” “however,” I proceeded, in a passage *which you omit*, “let any such instances as you suppose, be produced *if they can be*,” italicising these latter words. You started, by bringing forward what appeared a very large number of instances in point; viz. all the notoriously wicked kings who were not excommunicated: and I replied, by shewing that *these* were no instances at all, and by asking for some other one instance. You are not able to produce such; nor do you attempt to throw any doubt on my assertion “that (according to the doctrine of the Church) any king who should accept Absolution under such circumstances, would commit one sacrilege in so receiving the Sacrament of Penance; another in receiving the Eucharist; that he would remain under this double sin of sacrilege, until truly repentant, and *when* repentant, would have to make such confession all over again; further, that the priest, conscious of the fact, if he continued, without repenting, to perform his sacred functions, would commit so fearful a number of sacrileges, that one can hardly count them; and, finally, that no Catholic king ever existed, nor probably any Catholic layman of any rank, high or low, who has not been fully aware that such *is* the doctrine of the Church” (pp. 102-3).

But instead of confessing in your own mind that you have here made a (very natural) mistake, by your unacquaintance with the Church’s doctrine on the subject of excommunication, you disguise from yourself this plain fact, by turning off the discussion to a totally different allegation; viz. that our priests too readily believe a professed repentance. And this also you base on no alleged facts of a public and cognisable nature: but partly on one or two propositions, which you admit to have been condemned by the Church, as soon as attention was directed to them; and partly

thing in which the contrast is more striking between the Catholic Church and the Anglican Establishment, than in the provisions respectively made for moral and spiritual discipline. This is not the place to pursue this theme; but one mere allusion to the primary and characteristically Christian force of *purify*, and the assistance given towards its preservation, will open a most pregnant line of thought. I may refer also to an article in the current number of the *Dublin Review*, in which the contrast between the National Universities and Catholic Colleges is very powerfully drawn out. But I had myself occasion to enter in detail upon the whole subject, in a work to which I have already more than once referred, written when I was a Protestant;

on a conversation once held by some private individual with a "loose Breton voiturier." I cannot profess to follow you into a subject so very distantly connected with the main points of our discussion, and so incapable of decision on these vague and random grounds. But if you wish to understand the doctrine practically taught to our priests on such matters (and I think in common candour you *are* bound to acquaint yourself with this), I cannot refer you to a more undeniable authority than St. Alphonsus: first, because his *Moral Theology* has received a more distinct sanction from Rome (as being one lawful to be acted on), than any other work on the subject ever received; and secondly, because those who object to it, object to it ordinarily, as considering it *over-indulgent*. Read then, for instance, his chapter, "quomodò se gerere debeat confessarius cum habituatis et recidivis" (*Praxis Confessariorum*, chap. v.), and I shall indeed be astonished if your present tone continues.

I will add one comment however on your opinion, that the fact of a person falling from his good resolutions after some certain time (say weeks or months),—that this fact shews his original repentance to have been *insincere*. This opinion of yours, to speak plainly, evinces in my judgment an ignorance of some among the simplest facts in human nature so astonishing, as to explain many of your sentiments, which to me otherwise were inexplicable.

Further, I must admit that your remarks have reminded me of one particular in which I expressed myself too generally; and I wish therefore, so far, to retract such expression. I admit at once that *in articulo mortis* Absolution is most readily given upon Confession (or even in extreme necessity without it), for the chance of what it may be worth. Sufficient disposition *may* be in the dying man's soul to render such Absolution efficacious; and how unspeakably awful, if that were so, that Absolution should have been withholden! I need not say that, in a *dying* person, there is no fear of such readiness producing an unfavourable effect on his future conduct.

In conclusion, I have to mention a mistake of yours,—a mistake I should have thought, which the most ordinary carefulness would have prevented. You imply, as I understand you, that I represent it as not even desirable that the Church should endeavour to exclude from the *clerical body* unworthy persons. [Your words are, "it is idle to suppose that in a community which must contain, and which, according to Mr. Ward's view, *should not even endeavour to exclude from itself*, a vast amount of orthodox wickedness, one form of *that wickedness* will not be a practical laxity in the administration of *spiritual discipline*."] Now I say in my Second Letter distinctly and expressly the reverse of this (p. 88).

the sixth chapter of which exactly expresses my meaning. I have only to add, that while, in my comments on *your* Church's system, as having written them from experience, I have nothing to alter or modify; in my account of the *Catholic* discipline, there is here and there a little unreality, such as is perhaps almost inevitable when speaking of a system *external* to one's own experience. I am bound however to add, that my Catholic life has greatly *increased*, not diminished, my sense of the inestimable value of this discipline as a whole.

I hold then most firmly, that the contrast between the two systems, in the particular of moral and spiritual discipline, affords an argument, for the divine character of *ours*, and the merely human of *yours*, which yields in cogency to no other whatever: nay, which probably would have much more influence than any other, with one who might look at the matter in the right spirit; who might devote himself to the task of impartially observing, in this respect, the various religious communities around him, under a deep sense that the salvation of individual souls is the one object, to which every thing on earth ought to converge. But I admit nevertheless, that this is not an argument, which admits of being so sharply and decisively urged in controversy, as some others, nor which will so effectually silence a prejudiced opponent. This is indeed perhaps a characteristic of all such arguments, as are really the deepest, the most comprehensive, the most real, and the most persuasive. At all events, in the present instance there are many reasons which combine to produce this result. Thus, there is no definite degree which admits of being named or specified, below which we can say that, by Divine promise, the Church's zeal in the salvation of souls shall ever sink; and in one age and country Catholic authorities have been incomparably more active and devoted than in another. Again, even where zeal and devotion are at the highest, not only is it impossible to collect into one external view the various particulars which go to make up the practical character of a system; but also individual peculiarities will from time to time come into notice, the real nature of which it will be impossible to explain to those who are external to the workings of such system, and who have not been trained in sympathy with (what we of course

believe to be) the one true type of Christian excellence. For both which reasons, not to mention others, one cannot expect that persons (even unconsciously) prepossessed against us, will be apt to realise the full force and bearing of the reasoning founded on this class of phenomena, until the way has been prepared for it, by arguments of a more definite, unmistakeable, and (in one sense) *controversial* character.

Of this latter kind is one to which I urgently drew attention in my last Letter, though without expatiating on it at length: the impossibility of so much as *stating* any principles antagonistic to ours, from your point of view. This one consideration ought to have nothing less than *paramount* weight, so far as the question between us is one of reasoning at all. For it is not as though you folded your hands in idleness, and assumed a simply *sceptical* attitude towards all moral and spiritual truth; on the contrary, you are (most honourably) zealous and energetic in behalf of a practical conclusion different from ours. What is the logical *statement* of that practical conclusion? The first step in reasoning is to place in contrast with each other the respective theses contended for. Now, on our side, nothing can be clearer and more precise than our thesis, "even our enemies being judges." Those who (most strangely) complain of us as deficient in *proof*, at least admit that we are abundant in *statement* and in *system*. I ask in return, as a preliminary of the contest, since *we* plainly express the thesis for which we are about to contend, that *you* will do the same; but no answer is forthcoming. If Bishops *e. g.* in the early times did *not* obtain Jurisdiction from the Pope (as *we* allege, and are prepared to prove, that they *did*), from whom do *you* allege that they obtained Jurisdiction? and from whom do you consider that your own bishops now derive it? (Second Letter, p. 20, note; pp. 51-57.) Strange as it may seem, I believe there has never to this day been an *attempt*, on the part of your "high-Churchmen," seriously to answer this question; and I am quite convinced that merely to make such an attempt, would be to expose the logical absurdity of your position, in a degree that must be finally and for ever fatal to it, so far as it professes to be one admitting even one word in its support from either Scripture, Antiquity, or reason.

I have no notice however to take of your replies to me on this head, because you simply decline to argue it. To what extent you are warranted in so declining, is a matter on which hereafter I may have a word to say, but on which I shall here make no comment.

Another argument of this definite and decisive character, that I may return to the general course of my remarks, is the very one on which our controversy first began. This argument rests on the principle, now (I trust) sufficiently established, that the Church is essentially "cœtus fidelium;" an assembly of persons professing the One Catholic Faith. He therefore who confesses, that a certain Society receives permanently within its bosom those who profess tenets which he himself regards as *contrary* to that Faith, is bound also to admit, as part of the same judgment, that such Society is no part of the Catholic Church.

In regard to the Anglican Establishment, I maintained that it falls under this category in two different aspects: inasmuch as it has, first, ever since the Reformation, openly and deliberately acknowledged, as members, great numbers of men professing tenets, which you regard as contrary to the Catholic Faith; and secondly, the tenets so admitted within its pale (apart from the question of what your party *concede* to be heresy), are in themselves so vitally and fundamentally contradictory to each other, as to put all distinctness of teaching, and much more all unity of belief, on the greatest no less than on the least matters of Christian doctrine, absolutely out of the question. In attempting to elucidate this fact, "I absolutely despair," I said, "of doing any sort of justice to the deep feeling—I might almost literally say, *sense*—of the unspeakable divergences, confusions, worldliness, profaneness, shallowness, formalism, arrogance, stupidity, which belong to the religious tenets professed among you; a sense which the five years' experience of doctrinal unity has not a little intensified" (p. 24): a passage which I here repeat, because you cite it without any comment (Second Notice) merely as an "instance of my controversial style." Surely there is no single particular in it, which you would not yourself be ready on occasion to say, against what *you* might regard as an heretical and schismatical body; and that, without

thereby intending any personal discourtesy to individual members of such body.

As to the admission of tenets regarded by *yourself* as heretical, I began with taking the instance of "Baptismal Regeneration," because "the whole stir made by your party" on the Gorham affair "implies the deepest and most unanimous conviction" that its denial *is* a heresy. And I argued at some length, 1, that the public and resolute advocacy of this heresy has existed very widely within your Establishment, in every single period from the Reformation downwards; 2, that this was so, at some periods, to the practical *exclusion* of orthodoxy on the subject; 3, that even when this latter was not the case, still those who were most zealous for the orthodox doctrine never dreamed of treating their opponents *as* heretics; and 4, finally, that the heresy in question, at all times, and by no means least in the present, so far from being confined to the educated, has been most extensively prevalent and most deeply rooted in the minds of your whole *people* (pp. 24-38).

But I referred also to doctrines far more primary even than that of Baptismal Regeneration; and to the language held concerning them, not by Calvinists and low-Churchmen, but by those whom you are continually quoting as "bright stars in your theological firmament" (pp. 46-48). If Jeremy Taylor, Laud, Bramhall, and Hammond, are full of sympathy with Arian, Nestorian, and Eutychian heretics, it is no matter of surprise that Dr. Whately, designated by your own friends as Unitarian in tenets, was "consecrated" Archbishop, without so much as an attempt at protest and hindrance; and the fact that Dr. Hampden should have been opposed *at all*, is the real innovation upon your post-reformation precedents; not that the whole strength of all within your Church, who cared for the primary truths of early Christianity, was brought to bear in opposition to him (pp. 48-50), and was signally overmatched.\* Nor again can

\* You use the following expression in your Fourth Notice: "Archbishop Whately and the rest, *whom Mr. Ward is so fond of quoting*," seeming to imply that I lay an exaggerated and unfair stress on mere individual instances. But my argument is founded, *not* chiefly on the opinions put forth by such men, but by the *reception which such opinions meet* in your Establishment; and such facts as those mentioned above, shew most undeniably and conspicuously, that there has been no

we be surprised at the admission of the *Christian Remembrancer* of 1843, couched in the strongest terms, that every heresy condemned by the first four Councils was then taught "in nine pulpits out of ten" among you, "without a murmur, to say nothing of a censure" (p. 51).

Finally, to put in still stronger light the general confusion of doctrine in your body, I charged your members in general with having altogether lost the very elementary idea of true Christian sanctity; insomuch that the Saints who, as Gibbon tells us, "were respected and almost adored" by the Early Church, were they to appear in England, would be received by your people with bitter anger or contemptuous pity (pp. 40, 41). And I alleged moreover, against a form of doctrine very prevalent among you, the charge, that it is in "direct contradiction to the most sacred and primary principles of natural morality and religion" (p. 39).

To all this you have considered it beyond your province to attempt any reply; but in one of your original articles, you professed your intention of "referring to certain points in which the Roman Church has signally failed to guard the purity of her own teaching" ("Anglo-Romanism," No. V.). To these points therefore we are now to direct our attention; as affording the counterstatement on your side, which has to be weighed against the allegation of doctrinal corruption, superstition, heresy, and Apostasy, which I have made against your Establishment.

These "certain points" turn out to be two in number. The first, supported by an appeal to Pascal, is the corruption of casuistical teaching, alleged to have been tolerated within the Church for a very considerable period. To this I answered by adducing a fact of which you were not aware, the authoritative condemnation of that teaching; and you handsomely and liberally say in *general feeling* among you, approaching to a deep disapprobation of the heresies in question. That the names are not many in number, of those among you who have expressly and in terms taken the heretical side in these doctrinal controversies, is exactly what might have been expected. Your Establishment has made so great an advance on the heretical road, that your writers in general are hardly more eager on the heretical than on the orthodox side in such matters; and have come rather to look with indifference or contempt on this whole class of subjects. In other words, they have (to speak generally) lost all power of apprehending and valuing the Objective Verities of the Gospel.



reply (First Notice), that "as far as such a thing is possible, you would wish to withdraw the article in which" this first "charge was made," though "without pronouncing to what extent the charge might still be fairly pressed." No more need be said then on *this* "point."\*

The remaining "point" ("Anglo-Romanism," No. VII.) was the practical doctrine of Indulgences; which you represented as one which it was hardly possible for an educated member of your Establishment, even if converted to the Faith, ever "heartily and in his conscience" to believe. "They may, no doubt, turn their thoughts another way," you added; "they may refuse to see or entertain the question; they may assume that Rome must be right somehow, and take counsel only of those who agree with them, and will aid them in putting aside inconvenient thoughts; . . . but these are unsafe expedients. A time may come when the difficulties of Rome may be pressed upon them . . . and will they then . . . be able to believe this?" I have quoted this, to shew that you regarded the error in question as no insignificant one, but on the contrary, as a corruption on which a very great deal of weight might reasonably be laid. I answered (declining however to enter into "the general question of Indulgences, and their practical effect on the Christian's religious life"), by shewing that your *argument* on the subject was altogether, and without exception, founded on "one or two, not unnatural, misconceptions" of *fact* "into which you had fallen." No one could possibly on the one hand admit the truth of the statements I proceeded to make, and on the other hand uphold any part of the reasoning con-

\* You have added various comments, in this Notice, entirely founded on a misconception of my meaning. I said in my last Letter that I would not be "betrayed into a strong expression of opinion on" the *Provincial Letters*, "without being able to express reasons for such opinion;" and in the note which I appended, I expressly declined arguing the general question raised by them. A person most thoroughly competent to such a task, could not perform it except by writing volumes. I never intended therefore to express *my own opinion*, that in this instance Rome deserved the praise of disregarding human interests where Eternal Truth is concerned; but to make use of your own hypothetical *admission* to that effect. You had yourself said, that if Rome *had* condemned these propositions, it would have been like "plucking out an eye," or "cutting off a right hand." But you now concede that Rome did condemn them; therefore you admit that she *did* adopt conduct so disinterested as to merit the above parallel. This is simply what I meant to say, and what I think even a little attention would have *shewn* you that I meant.

tained in your article to which they referred; the two are mutually contradictory. But in your last reply, you take no notice, direct or indirect, of such of my statements; nor make any further allusion, direct or indirect, to the subject. This therefore also falls to the ground.

It appears therefore, that those objections, which alone you raised against Roman teaching where you were professedly considering it as a whole, have altogether given way; so that literally I should not have a word more to say on *this* part of my subject, were it not that in the earlier part of our controversy, two detached and isolated cases happened (as it were) to turn up, on which you still consider that an attack upon us can be maintained,—that of Liberius, and that of “the Sicilian Monarchy.” In order therefore to make my personal reply complete, I must proceed to re-consider these cases, and so bring this Letter to a conclusion.\*

\* I must not omit however to notice your rejoinder, in the matter of the Acts of the Seventh Council. The anecdote in question was originally introduced by you merely in a note; though if it proved any thing whatever, it would prove an amount of doctrinal anti-Christianism, which would bear out the fiercest denunciations of the most extreme Protestants. It is part indeed of the most extraordinary view which you have throughout taken of this anecdote, that you cite it for the very *opposite* purpose; for the purpose of illustrating the “mischievousness” of “exaggerating the importance of true doctrine in comparison with right conduct.” Altogether indeed we seem destined to astonish each other; and specially on this head. You “read over the sentence” of mine, which defends the Council, the Saint, and the Abbot, “for the fourth or fifth time, to be quite sure your eyes had not deceived you;” and my own surprise at your reply to the said sentence might be no less forcibly expressed. I will first illustrate the meaning of this anecdote by its own internal evidence; and then by a reference to the various undoubted circumstances of the time and place in which it was recounted. First then to recite, from my former Letter, the anecdote itself; inserting only, for the sake of those who may not have seen them, the words on which the controversy turns. “There was a certain monk, *αγωνιστης πανυ*, who was in the habit of very severe contests against the temptations of the devil, and was quite wearied out with the unceasing recurrence of these fearful temptations, and the laboriousness of resisting them.” “How long is it to be,” said he one day to the demon of fornication, “how long is it to be before thou wilt spare me? for thou hast followed me to my very old age.” And the demon appeared, and promised to spare him any further attacks, “if he would only take an oath of secrecy, and omit his devotions to the holy image of the Lord and His Mother.” His conscience however, as you continue the anecdote, led him to consult his abbot as to the propriety of observing his pledge; and the reply was, “Hast thou been so deluded (*επειταχθης*) as to swear to the demon? but thou hast done well to tell me this. *Expedit autem tibi potius ut non dimittas in civitate ista lupanar in quod non introeas, quam ut recuses adorare Dominum et*

Previously to proceeding with this task, I have one only final comparison to make, between (what we hold to be) the Catholic Church and your Establishment; and that on the very particular with which my original little paper was almost exclusively occupied, but which has now become so indisputably clear, that the mere mention of it is sufficient. A question which you must consider as one so intimately, so unspeakably, affecting the spiritual and eternal interest of your people, as the question what doctrines they may or may not be taught by your clergy,—this question is decided for you in the last resort by an authority, to *Deum nostrum Jesum Christum, cum propria Matre Sua, in imagine.*" I italicise these last words, to draw attention to your *point*.

You speak of this story, I said (Second Letter, p. 94, note), as though it implied that a wicked monk, plunged in every debauchery, might yet take comfort to himself from the fact that he paid due attention to holy images; whereas the present is the case of one who has undeviatingly and courageously *resisted* temptation. Is it possible that you can think, that the monk would have acted innocently in accepting this compromise? Here is a certain religious habit, conceived by the monk to be the fit expression of reverent adoration to Jesus and Mary; and yet, when the deadly enemy of his Saviour and his Saviour's Mother promises to give him ease on condition of abandoning this habit, he is half disposed to agree. Surely such guilt is frightful; surely any one would say with the Abbot, "rather let temptation do its worst, than purchase respite from my Saviour's enemy on condition of insulting that Saviour."

Your reply is simply that "the compact with Satan is irrelevant." I hardly think there can be another man of sound mind in all Christendom who will not see, that this is not only *not* irrelevant, but is the precise point on which the whole story turns. You speak of the monk omitting this worship, "in order to obtain for himself greater security from positive sin;" as though there were some connexion, in the way of natural cause and effect, between such omission and such security: whereas there would be no sort of "security," nor any thing like it, so obtained, except through the direct instrumentality of this express compact with Satan. I ask you again, as before, "if the Devil were to promise to spare *you* temptation, on condition that you would tread a copy of the Bible under foot, or spit contemptuously upon it," would *you* accept the compact? And if not, would there be common sense or common decency in accusing you, as though you considered a merely external disrespect to a printed volume to be a greater sin than the most aggravated impurity? The case is precisely parallel.

It is not altogether unimportant to observe, that the sentence is not worded generally, but individually: *expedit tibi*. And certainly such considerations as the above absolutely *compel* us to interpret it, "it is expedient for you, *circumstanced as you are*, not to leave, &c." Nor must we imagine, as I observed, "that the abbot expected any such frequent yielding to temptation as a *probable* consequence." This you admit; observing however, which I on my side admit, "that his words are made studiously large enough to meet the most extreme case."

So much on the story considered merely by the light of its own internal evidence. Take it in connexion with the admitted circumstances and current morality of the time, and your interpretation becomes so utterly extravagant as to defy com-

which you not merely can ascribe no gift of *infallibility*, but not even the most ordinary supernatural grace, or the most ordinary natural qualification, specially directed to that end; in fact, by the civil power. With us, no less a personage is entrusted with this most momentous function, than he whom we believe to be under the pledged and most watchful superintendence of the Holy Spirit, for its due and truthful performance.

VI. Now then for the case of Liberius: on which subject I consider you to have advanced reckless statements on your own side, and to have neglected a fair consideration of those adduced on my side, in a degree exceeding even what is to be found in your other Notices. However, let the reader judge for himself.

Your original statement in regard to this Pope (Review of ment. I will not here enlarge on the charge of irreverence towards the holy Sophronius. A writer who disposes so unscrupulously as yourself of the whole united body of Nicene Saints, is not likely to care much for one single Saint of the sixth century. I will only mention, that when I spoke of him as one of the greatest pillars of the Church in the contest against the Monothelite heresy, I did not merely mean what you say, that "he contended against the Monothelites, who were condemned by the Sixth Council;" but that the Sixth Council treated his name with very especial reverence, insomuch that his treatise was actually (I believe) the *only one* methodical refutation of the heretics which was there publicly and solemnly read. But apart from all questions of reverence, "Saints of that period are accused," as I said, "by many moderns of undervaluing other sins, in comparison with those against the sixth (your seventh) commandment; but of undervaluing the latter class of sins, never." Yet you have the boldness to maintain that, not in an obscure corner, but in the face of day—not one isolated individual, but a body of bishops solemnly met together, without one voice raised in protest or dissent,—a body of bishops who (as you even point out), having power to do so, did not so much as make image-worship *obligatory* on Catholics,—yet unanimously proclaimed that its omission was more sinful, than was the most abandoned impurity of a consecrated monk. Why even those who at this moment vent their odious and ribald comments on Catholic morality, yet maintain that the evil is done *in secret*. Who, before yourself, ever supposed that such principles were publicly proclaimed?

Even supposing, I say (what has been, I think, quite disproved above), that the anecdote, considered by itself, fairly bore your interpretation, are you at liberty thus to outrage all external and historical probability? For example, have not you yourself, in the course of these very Notices (see p. 42), said expressly, that the command which forbade fornication was one of only a temporary character? Imagine for a moment that I were to fasten upon this unwary statement,—refuse to hear explanation,—shirk the task of comparing such statement with the admitted principles of your party and friends, or with other language even of your own,—and build on it a triumphant inference, that Dr. Pusey's friends advocate disgusting immorality? On that supposition, I should do exactly what *you* have done in regard to St. Sophronius and the Seventh Council. Consider what epithets you would apply to me in that imaginary case, and appropriate them to yourself in the present instance.

First Letter) was, (1) that "it does not appear that he ever renounced communion with the great patron of Arianism, the Emperor Constantius;" and (2) that "he signed a document, &c." First then for the first accusation. I replied (Second Letter, note to p. 131) that this charge, "so far as I was aware," "rests on no shadow of foundation;" and that "a sufficient answer to it" is afforded by certain plain historical facts. You still however maintain your position (Third Notice); basing it wholly on the following ground.

"The anti-Pope Felix," you observe, "has been held to have been Pope and Martyr. One evidence adduced in his favour was a stone coffin, with this inscription on it: 'Hic jacet corpus Sancti Felicis Papæ et Martyris, *qui Constantium hæreticum damnavit.*' But a very considerable Roman Catholic authority considers that the authenticity of this inscription is disproved at once by the fact, that in those days the Church did not condemn princes for heresy. 'Hanc adversus principes severitatem,' says Natalis Alexander, 'non adhuc exercebat Ecclesia, nec pænas debitas illis irrogabat, ne majus inde scandalum atque damnum oriretur, neve gravis ab ipsis in Catholicos persecutio excitaretur.' That is to say, while Mr. Ward clamorously asserts that no Pope ever held communion with a single heretical prince or subject (known to be such) for a single day,—a learned writer of the same communion considers the condemnation by the Pope of an Emperor, however heretical, to be a fact so utterly inconsistent with the practice of Constantine's period, that it at once proves the spuriousness of the monument on which it is asserted."

Now, on the surface of the thing, there is something unfair and evasive in this reply. Your original allegation against Liberius was worded as though it were intended to found on it an argument, for the existence *in him personally* of an Arianising inclination; so that his (alleged) lapse should appear no merely exceptional act, but the natural crown as it were and result, of his previous tendencies. What then can be more unfair in *spirit*,\* even if you thereby vindicated your *literal* accuracy of statement, than to put in as evidence (and as the sole evidence) for this allegation, an act, or rather an omission, which (so far from implying, even with the faintest probability, any leaning whatever to Arius's tenets,) was an omission, on your own shewing, shared by Liberius in

\* I am far from imputing *intentional* unfairness.

common with every single Pope, and every single Bishop, down to that period from the very time of the Apostles ?

But, secondly, what an extraordinary interpretation you have given to the words of Natalis Alexander ! This writer says that in those days the Church was not in the habit of denouncing Emperors by name as heretics, and (which would be involved in this) requiring the faithful to avoid *e. g.* the ordinary reverential modes of address to them ; and from this, you most preposterously infer, that the Church's rulers held *religious communion* with these heretical Emperors. That Natalis Alexander cannot have meant this, (even if the words could possibly be so distorted as to imply it, which few will imagine,) is perfectly certain ; for so learned a writer could not have been ignorant, of what the most superficial reader of history so well knows, as the scene between St. Basil and the Emperor Valens. I will recite this scene in the forcible language of Mr. Milman.

“ The Emperor mingled with the crowd of undistinguished worshippers ; but he was so impressed with the solemnity of the Catholic service, the deep and full chanting of the psalms, the silent adoration of the people, the order and the majesty, by the calm dignity of the Bishop and of his attendant clergy,—which appeared more like the serenity of angels than the busy scene of mortal men,—that, awe-struck and overpowered, he scarcely ventured to approach to make his offering. The clergy stood irresolute, whether they were to receive it *from the infectious hand of an Arian* ; Basil at length, while the trembling Emperor leaned for support on an attendant priest, condescended to advance and accept the oblation. But *neither supplication, nor bribes, nor threats*, could induce the Bishop *to admit the sovereign to communion*” (*History of Christianity*, vol. iii. 126).

It is true that Liberius never refused the Holy Eucharist to Constantius ; but that was for the simple reason that the latter never asked for it, not having been even baptised until just before his death. But it does so happen (rather surprisingly) that Liberius *had* the opportunity of shewing, in a very marked way, how sinful he considered religious communion with Constantius. For when the Emperor's messenger, having failed in his mission to the Pope, offered up in one of the churches at Rome Constantius' oblations, Liberius severely rebuked the ecclesiastical

officer for having permitted it; and cast out the offering as an unlawful sacrifice.\* It has been pointed out by some of our historians, that Liberius here goes even further than St. Basil in the former anecdote; for the latter did accept Valens's oblations, though refusing him the Holy Eucharist.

It is quite plain then that, unfair as your new position on this head is when alleged in justification of your original language, you have utterly failed in defending even this inadequate position itself. But when you proceed to choose this very statement of yours,—this statement, which admits of so singularly ready and complete discomfiture,—as the especial basis, whereon to found your solemn admonition as to the “rashness of my sweeping challenges,” the scene becomes positively grotesque.

So much on the first count of the indictment against Liberius: there remains the second. The passage in my first Letter which gave occasion to this discussion, was as follows:

“I challenge you to produce a single undisputed instance, from the reign of St. Peter to that of Pius IX., where any Pope, under whatever pressure of temporal difficulty, to whatever threats or whatever allurements he might have been exposed, has continued to hold communion with any one, king or subject, who has openly and wilfully maintained, what he or any of his predecessors had pronounced heresy. The continued stress laid by our opponents on particular isolated acts, such as that of Liberius, or the events consequent upon the Fifth Œcumenical Council, very far as these facts are from bearing out their case, shews how impossible they find it to deny this proposition. But if there be no such instance, then it follows that no Catholic has ever been obliged to remain in communion, even for a day, with any heretic . . . known to be such.”

You replied, that Liberius, whom I mentioned, *was* a case in point; for that this Pope, over and above his not renouncing communion with Constantius, (which we have just considered,) “signed a document, as the condition of regaining his see, presented by Arians, and meant to commit him to an Arian sense; and did, by signing it, distinctly admit wilful heretics to his communion.” I rejoined, by arguing (pp. 126-130) that this act

\* Athanasius ad Solitarios. See the Saint's *Historical Tracts*, p. 250, Oxford translation.

of Liberius, if it ever took place, was “an act without antecedents or consequents; a naked, isolated, exceptional act, revoked as soon as done” (p. 128); and that “such an act commits to heresy neither individual, nor see, nor church” (p. 127). You neither call in question the truth of the statement, nor the correctness of the doctrine, contained in these passages:\* but content yourself with designating it as an after-thought. In reply to this, I may first observe, as I did before (Second Letter, p. 126), that “as I specifically mentioned Liberius, it is clear that his case was in my thoughts, and that I worded my challenge with express reference to it.” It is not very probable then, that my mode of defence should be an “after-thought.” And the only reason you attempt to adduce for this imputation is weak enough; being wholly founded on my phrase, “even for a day,” in the latter part of the above quotation. Why, it is my very argument throughout,—and an argument which you have not attempted to answer,—that such an act as that ascribed to Liberius, would *not* be such as to “oblige a single Catholic to remain in communion even for a day,” nor an hour, nor a minute, “with any heretic, known to be such.” So far from the original words “even for a day” being *opposed* to my subsequent course of reasoning, they are specially and expressly provided for *in* that reasoning.

It will hardly be credited by any one who has not read your Notices, that on this so obviously unsound and fallacious basis, and on this alone, you have thought fit to found against me the charge, of having “stated what was convenient for my argument, even though it was directly and evidently contrary to truth, on a matter peculiarly within my own knowledge” (Third Notice).

But such a charge as this, whatever else may be thought of it, at least, one would have fancied, must have evinced a knowledge on your part of what *was* “convenient to my argument;” it must have shewn you to be well aware, that I rested my answer to your challenge, not on the *doubtfulness* of the alleged fact, but on its *irrelevancy*. Yet most surprisingly, in your eager-

\* “This qualification,” you say, “*whether reasonable or not in itself*, is an after-thought.”



ness to load me with imputations however contradictory to each other, you have written in other parts of your Notice as though you were not aware of this. I made, at starting, what you call a "sweeping challenge." I defended this against you, I repeat, by arguing at some length, that Liberius's act, even if it took place, was no sort of *objection* to that challenge; and against this argument of mine you have not so much as attempted a word of reply. Whatever comes of the further question, my "challenge" remains amply and completely vindicated. But over and above this, whereas in your review of my First Letter, you seemed to imply (as I observed in my Second Letter, p. 130), "that any doubt on the truth of this fact is the mere wantonness of controversial ingenuity, the mere resolution to question every thing which makes against our cause,"—I thought it not unimportant to point out, that "Liberius's lapse is no very certain or indisputable event." And having mentioned great part of Zaccaria's reasoning, I added, "on which side the arguments as a whole preponderate, I have neither that learning nor that critical power which entitle me to form a judgment."

My readers will have observed then, that this question is in no way bound up with my original "challenge:" I had already vindicated *that*, on grounds wholly distinct, and which you have not attempted to answer. And yet, in your Third Notice, with a degree of carelessness quite unaccountable, you say that I "rashly" indulge in "sweeping challenges," from the vindication of which, "when brought to a point, I do not scruple to shelter myself under my own want of learning and critical power." Those who have attended to what I have above pointed out, will see that there is no syllable of any thing even like the truth in this statement; though it is recklessness, and not deliberate or wilful mis-statement, which I lay to your charge.

I am bound however to say, as to this alleged lapse of Liberius,—though I still retain the consciousness that I have "neither that learning nor that critical power which entitle me to form," on my own authority, a decided judgment,—that the consideration of your arguments has in no degree diminished, and that subsequent reading and thought have in some degree increased, my conviction that this lapse "is at least no very certain or in-

disputable event." Certainly the course of your reasoning is not less infelicitous on this, than on all the other particulars relating to Liberius.

"The mere mention of such a name as the grave and profoundly learned Zaccaria" I considered sufficient to shew that the denial of the Pope's lapse was at least no mere controversial paradox (p. 130); because no one, acquainted with Zaccaria's writings, imputes to him any such general habit of mind, but most particularly the reverse. You reply, that this argument has no weight, because *another* learned Jesuit, Harduin, *did* maintain some astonishing paradoxes; with the amusing relation of which you proceed to enliven a dull subject. It is really difficult to characterise such talk as this; for one cannot call it reasoning. If you were to say that some military exploit, whether wise or no, could have been no very egregious blunder, for that the Duke of Wellington altogether defends it; and if I were to allege, as a sufficient reply, that the Duke of York had been a Field-Marshal and Commander-in-Chief no less than the Duke of Wellington, and that *he* (the Duke of York) often approved military acts which *were* egregious blunders,—you would think me mad. Yet this is precisely your reasoning. Zaccaria cannot be *averse* to paradoxes, because Harduin (who was *also* learned and *also* a Jesuit, but who has no other sort of connexion either with Zaccaria or with the history of Liberius,) greatly inclined to them.

Secondly, you object to me, because, after having admitted my inability to form a decisive judgment "on which side the arguments as a whole preponderate," I added to this (p. 132), that "a person must be bereft of his senses who should refuse to admit that" Zaccaria's "arguments are in themselves strong and cogent." "A person," you reply, "must be very ignorant of the nature and value of evidence, if he ventures to pronounce on the strength or cogency of merely negative or probable arguments, until he has ascertained what is to be said on the other side." A Judge therefore, who, when the case for the prosecution has closed, should say to himself, "I cannot yet decide on which side the arguments preponderate, but certainly here is in itself a strong and cogent chain of circumstantial evidence against the

prisoner;”—such a Judge is “very ignorant of the nature and value of evidence.” Let any lawyer decide.

You object that the adverse conclusion “is accepted without demur by the stanch Ultramontanes, Baronius and Bellarmine; by Tillemont, Bossuet, Fleury, Alban Butler, Neander, Mohler,” and lastly, by Father Newman, in his work on the Arians: and also, that there are strong indications that, before the time of St. Pius V., “the story was believed at Rome itself.” I should make no doubt that it was; and indeed Zaccaria implies as much in a passage which I quoted (pp. 133-4). You deal very unfair measure in this matter.\* If some Catholic, to prove *e. g.* the primitiveness of devotion to our blessed Lady, adduces a passage, as from some Father, which was received without question by the whole Church for many centuries, your controversialists reply with a tone of no inconsiderable triumph, sometimes adding a hinted charge of dishonest intention, that later critical researches have disproved the genuineness of such passage. Are *we* to derive no benefit from this favourite “locus theologicus” of your friends, critical research? Or if the critical judgment of Baronius and Bellarmine is considered by you

\* As I am on the subject of the fallacies strewed so thickly throughout your Third Notice, I will add a note on one which you introduce in a note: a comment on some supposed inconsistency of my tone in the subject of St. Jerome. First, you say that I “treat disbelief in miracles vouched by St. Jerome, as almost equivalent to disbelief in the Old Testament:” whereas, any one who looks at my words (pp. 41-2) will see, that it is not St. Jerome, but St. Philip Neri, whom I am comparing on the one side, with the Old Testament *and* St. Jerome on the other side. To believe in certain miracles ascribed to St. Philip Neri, is characterised by the *Christian Remembrancer* as “a melancholy chapter in the human mind.” In that case, I reply, to believe in the miracles recounted in the Old Testament, or in those recorded by St. Jerome, is “a melancholy chapter of the human mind;” and the Reviewer’s sentiment will consistently land him, not merely in opposition to the Fourth century, as well as the Nineteenth, but in opposition to the inspired Word of God itself. But further, you say that Zaccaria regards St. Jerome as greatly deficient in critical acumen; and that this is not less disrespectful to the Saint than the Reviewer’s own imputation. On the same principle, to differ decidedly from an opinion of the Duke of Wellington on astronomy or botany, is not less absurdly conceited, than for a civilian confidently to condemn his views on a matter of military conduct. Can it be necessary to point out, that what the Reviewer attributes to a believer in St. Philip’s miracles, is not deficiency in critical skill, but degrading and superstitious views of the Christian Religion? and that between sanctity on the one hand, and degrading superstition on the other, there is the broadest and most irreconcilable contrariety; but between sanctity and great critical deficiency, not the very slightest?

of very little account, because of the small progress made in *their* times by critical science, why is it to be imputed to us as almost an inconsistency, if (with the deepest reverence for them, yet) on matters of mere criticism we demur to their authority?

As to the other names above quoted, so much as this is plain at once; that whereas the ordinary editions of St. Athanasius and others contain distinct mention of Liberius's lapse, every one would take that lapse for granted, who had not been led to make for himself special inquiry, into the genuineness of the passages *making* such mention. Now there is no reason whatever, but quite the reverse, to suppose that Alban Butler, or Neander, or again Father Newman in the year 1833, had ever particularly examined this question at all. Further, Bossuet, Fleury, and Tillemont, (omitting Mohler), were not less biassed in *their* examination on one side, than the authorities to which *we* appeal can be supposed to have been on the other. These authorities (to omit others,) are no less than Zaccaria, Pietro Ballerini, Orsi, and the writer in the Bollandists for the 23d of September; all names of the highest mark in such inquiries.

But secondly, it must not be supposed that the authorities you cite, though they agree in one common conclusion that Liberius did lapse, agree with each other and with you in their view of the testimonies on which such lapse rests. For instance, St. Hilary's often-quoted "anathema tibi, &c., prævaricator Liberi" is regarded by Mohler as of very doubtful authenticity.\* And as to the "very letters written by Liberius on occasion of his lapse," and recorded by St. Hilary, on which you lay so prominent a stress,—that two out of these four letters are spurious, is absolutely certain; because *they* ascribe to Liberius an earlier lapse, in contradiction to the most undoubted, patent, and unanimous testimonies of Antiquity: insomuch that I believe there is *not one* of the authorities you mention, who contends for *their* authenticity. From my own knowledge indeed I can assert this, of all except Bossuet and Tillemont. But, as the lamented Palma argues, if only one of them is certainly fictitious, the falsity of the others is no very improbable supposition.†

\* Mohler's *Athanase le Grand*, French translation, vol. iii. p. 138, note.

† Palma *Prælectiones Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ*, vol. i. p. 265.

There is another discrepancy of very great importance. In reading Baronius's account of Liberius's return to Rome, I was struck with one most important variation from Fleury's. The latter namely mentions, that Liberius was received with the utmost enthusiasm by the Romans; whereas Baronius gives in some detail an account of the most opposite character. On consulting Balzerini (*De Vi ac Ratione Primatus*, p. 301), I find the reason for this. Baronius's account was taken from certain "Acts of St. Eusebius Presbyter;" and Bossuet, in the first edition of his "Defence," gave the same account: but in his second edition the latter prelate candidly confessed, that these Acts were of the smallest authority. Accordingly, that the Pope was received by the people on his return with the greatest joy, is now universally admitted.

But what a shock does such admission inflict on the integrity of the whole story; which now stands as it were isolated and unaccountable. Even prior to this last critical discovery, thoughtful men must have been struck with the difficulty of interweaving it into the general course of events. No fewer than four early writers (see Second Letter, p. 130,) distinctly ascribe Liberius's return to the tumult of the Roman people, and the importunity of the Roman matrons, which Constantius found himself unable to resist. Yet the current story ascribed his return to a cause wholly different, viz. his assent to Constantius's wishes: so that the two cannot be *happily* reconciled by any artifice; and cannot be even *logically and nakedly* reconciled, except by supposing that the lapse, by some strange accident, took place at the very moment, when he was on the point of being restored *without* any sacrifice of principle. Still, as would *then* have appeared, the *subsequent* circumstances *did* seem to bear out the idea of his lapse; for the Romans did just what might have been expected, and turned violently against the object of their former reverence. But *now*, when *this* part of the account is unanimously and for ever exploded, it seems absolutely impossible to insert the controverted story at all into the chain of ecclesiastical events.

In fact, in any attempt to do this (reverting to Zaccaria's arguments) we should have to make the following suppositions.

First (as above), that, by a most extraordinary accident, Liberius's submission took place, at the very moment when he was otherwise on the point of being restored. Secondly, that whereas not one of the Roman people would *enter the church* while Felix the anti-Pope was there, because Felix, although always orthodox himself, yet freely communicated with heretics;—this same Roman people nevertheless received back with enthusiastic delight a Pontiff who had acted like Liberius,—who had tried to purchase his return by abandoning, in some sense, even his own personal profession of orthodoxy, which Felix (I believe) had never done. Thirdly, that great as was the sin of such an act as Liberius's in the eyes of orthodox Churchmen, (insomuch that St. Hilary is represented as pronouncing against him with impassioned solemnity a threefold anathema),—and staunch as Liberius's own orthodoxy most undeniably was from the time of his return,—nevertheless, I will not merely say that he exhibited no penitential demeanour, but that he literally made no public retractation at all. “It is carefully mentioned by historians, how that all who lapsed at Ariminum publicly retracted; but as to Liberius, from whom a retractation would have been far more imperatively necessary, there is nowhere so much as a hint of any such transaction” (Second Letter, p. 131). Fourthly, we have further to suppose, that while Liberius was urging by various arguments the adoption of a lenient course towards these lapsed brethren,—he, who was conscious of having himself committed in the same kind a far more grievous sin than they, yet neither relieved his feelings, nor enforced his arguments, by so much as one regretful allusion to the past. And finally, that Constantius, at a time when it was of the utmost importance to him to obtain the assent of as many bishops as possible to the decrees of Ariminum;—when the adherence of the Roman See would have been (even on your view of history) more inestimably important than that of even many others put together;—and when a Pope was in possession of that See, of whom the Emperor had found by experience that his firmness was by no means proof against persecution and threats;—that Constantius, I say, in such a crisis as this, did not so much as invite him to Ariminum or solicit his suffrage.

Any ordinary reader of history then is perfectly competent to pronounce, that a story involving all these most extraordinary suppositions is in itself highly improbable. Whether the few documents which mention it are so undoubtedly genuine as to defy all attempts at assailing them, *this* is a question on which the critical scholar alone can decide; but so much as this you or I *can* decide, that nothing less than direct evidence of the most demonstrative character is sufficient to support them. In other words, "how far Zaccaria is successful" on the negative side, "or on which side the arguments as a whole preponderate, I have neither that learning nor that critical power which entitle me to form a judgment. But a person must be bereft of his senses who should refuse to admit, that the arguments I have been reciting are in themselves strong and cogent" (Second Letter, pp. 131-2).

VII. If in the matter of Liberius your remarks have *teemed* with fallacies, in that of the "Sicilian Monarchy," which remains to be considered, I have mainly to notice only *one* fallacy; but that one so pervasive of your whole argument, that the exposure of the former is the completest possible reply to the latter. You say that though the King of Sicily "did not claim the right to make creeds or canons," yet "he did claim, by himself or by his delegates, to judge whether in any particular case the doctrines of the Church had been contradicted or no" (Second Notice). This form of expression is ambiguous; and as soon as the ambiguity is pointed out, I really believe that you will yourself admit your statement to be erroneous, in that sense which alone is available to your argument. Your expression may either mean on the one hand, that he claimed to decide whether a tenet, confessedly heterodox, was or was not held by this or that individual; or on the other hand, that he claimed to decide whether some tenet, confessedly held by one of his subjects, was or was not heterodox. In the former sense your statement is true but irrelevant; in the latter, relevant but erroneous. That in the latter sense it *is* erroneous, that the King of Sicily never did claim to decide on the orthodoxy of doctrine, so necessarily follows from the most obvious historical facts, that (as I just now observed) I really believe you do not yourself explicitly maintain it.

First of all, look at the probabilities of the thing from your own admission.

“You bring forward,” I had said, “a fact as parallel” to the disorders of your own Establishment. “What does any one expect? that you will name any local Church, in communion with the Holy See, swarming with persons whom *we* consider heretics, as you admit that the Anglican Establishment swarms with those whom *you* consider such? No one, of course, is so simple as to expect as much as *that*. But your readers, I suppose, may have anticipated that you would bring forward, from some dark and obscure corner of history, some one acknowledged heretic in full communion with some local Church, that Church herself being in communion with Rome, and Rome cognisant of the fact; or some one Pope who might have tolerated some one obscure heresy condemned by some one of his predecessors.”

“It is unquestionable,” you reply, “that the Sicilian case shews nothing of this kind.” (*Second Notice.*)

You admit then as “unquestionable,” that through the whole number of centuries during which this ecclesiastical constitution lasted in Sicily, *not one* instance is producible of any person having been admitted into communion with the Sicilian Church, professing a tenet judged by the Holy See to be heretical. How do you account for this, on the supposition that the King was final and independent judge of orthodoxy? Would you seriously expect us to believe it a mere *accidental coincidence*, that of all the deep and intricate theological questions, which have been ruled, one way or the other, by the Holy See during this great number of centuries, the opinion of each Sicilian Monarch precisely tallied with that of his predecessors, and with that of every Pope? You cannot surely have sufficiently weighed your meaning, before giving expression to it.

But, again, as a matter of *direct* argument. You admit it as an obvious and undeniable truth, that the King believed himself under the obligation of remaining in communion with Rome. This is plain; in that you characterise a certain challenge of mine as the merest trifling, because, when analysed, it appears a challenge “to produce a Church which . . . shall be in communion with Rome, and . . . .” yet “not believe it necessary to remain in that communion.” I decline to admit



the force of this criticism : but at least it shews that you regard it as a very elementary and undeniable truth, that Churches in communion with Rome, (and the Sicilian therefore inclusively,) believe it necessary for salvation to remain in that communion. But that the Holy See at least *professes*, and has professed throughout the existence of this Sicilian monarchy, not to receive into its communion those whom it regards as heretics, is denied by no one. By what extraordinary oversight is it then, that you have permitted yourself to assert, that the King of Sicily “ would have decided in the last resort on the Gorham case, if it had been brought before him ?” when it is perfectly certain, both that he considered communion with Rome as necessary to salvation ; and also that Rome professes to refuse communion to those who hold opinions, whether on Baptism or on any other doctrinal subject, which she regards as heterodox ? It is abstractedly conceivable indeed, from a Protestant point of view, that this might be *mere* profession ; and that practically Rome might have connived at the open maintenance, in Sicily, of doctrines regarded by her as heretical at home : and this is the only statement, in opposition to our doctrine, which *is* abstractedly conceivable. But then this is the very thing which I expressly mentioned, in order to deny it ; and of which you admit, that there is “ unquestionably” nothing of the kind to be discovered.

Nothing then can possibly be more certain and undeniable, than that (deplorable as were the evils flowing from this ecclesiastical constitution, evils so emphatically and ardently denounced by Baronius,) there was nothing in that constitution which gave the King any power of *doctrinal* decision ; nor consequently which tended in any way to obscure the distinctness and purity of dogmatic profession. That blessing of infallible teaching, in matters of faith and morals, was still secured to the Sicilians, in regard to which it has been my object in great part of this and of my former Letter to shew, that where it remains, amidst whatever practical evil, those unspeakably high and precious blessings, which it was one primary object of Apostolical Christianity to impart, remain also ; and that where it is lost, as in your Establishment, no amount of individual

earnestness and piety can even approach to supplying the deficiency.\*

Before leaving this subject, I am bound to notice two objections you have taken, in connexion with it, to my controversial conduct. In your original article on the Sicilian Monarchy, you expatiated on it at considerable length, as being a signal and complete refutation of my original assertion. My reply then, (as now), in no way turned on details, but professed to shew that your adduced case was wholly and absolutely "nihil ad rem;" and in your Review of such my reply, you expressly declined pursuing the controversy further. I must still think I was warranted in my remark that, by so doing, "you unostentatiously yielded me the victory" (Second Letter, p. 2); and that "the only exceptional instance" which you attempted to adduce against my original statement "was at once withdrawn." You say (Second Notice) that, "if I had chosen," I might "have seen" this assertion "to be untrue." I cannot even now see it to be otherwise than most true.

On the other hand, the following expression—"which a two months' search enabled you to discover," (meant however, I assure you, as an "argument," and not as a "taunt")—"rests," as you observe, "on the unhesitating assumption, that" you "must have received" my "paper the moment it was published, and from that time must have been more or less on the look out for facts to answer it." Such assumption, I fully admit, was wholly unwarrantable. I retract the expression therefore, and have further to state my regret for the hastiness which led to its adoption.

\* In the course of your argument on this matter, you mention two further alleged exceptions (besides those already noticed) to the purity of Rome's dogmatic teaching. One is Ranke's observation, that in the time of Leo X. "no one passed at Rome as an accomplished man, who did not entertain heretical opinions about Christianity. At the court, the ordinances of the Catholic Church, and passages of holy writ, were spoken of only in a jesting manner; the mysteries of the faith were despised." On which it suffices to observe, that the question is not whether there be, or be not, grounds for supposing the truth of this statement; but what *profession* of faith candidates *e.g.* for ordination would have made, when formally questioned on the subject.

You further mention Caramuel's promotion to an archbishopric; forgetting that, in your very preceding Notice you had mentioned this fact, as shewing that this divine was *not* considered at Rome to be a heretic. Doubtless we Catholics *are* called upon to contend, and should find no difficulty in doing so, that any tenets publicly professed by Caramuel, known in Rome at the time of his promotion, were in no way heretical.

VIII. Before concluding, I ought not to omit some reference to that, which at first filled no subordinate part in our controversy; your charge against me of deliberate untruth. On this head however, the replies and rejoinders have now gone to such length, that the attempt is hopeless of making my comments on the matter clear, except to one who may be prepared to take the trouble, of going, with painful accuracy, through a variety of detail, in itself utterly uninteresting. But then, if any one *is* willing and prepared to take this amount of trouble, I will most willingly leave my case in his hands without further comment at all: for nothing beyond such careful examination is necessary, in order that the irrelevancy of your last reply may be placed in the clearest possible light.

And further, the keenness of my own interest in the matter is greatly abated, since the courteous expressions contained in your Second Notice; for which I am bound to tender you my best acknowledgments. "Knowing that I have a character for veracity to lose," you "at once and *ex animo*" "withdraw any thing which implies a charge of deliberate and conscious deception:" the sting of the personal controversy of course is extracted, when so satisfactory an acknowledgment is made; and there is the less incitement to pursue the subject. I must take pains however not to make use of your courtesy against yourself, or give my readers to understand that you in any way draw back from the controversial position you had assumed. Far otherwise. You "cannot in any degree qualify your charge of misstatement:" but consider such misstatement to arise from "a disposition to believe what is convenient, or a too obedient memory, or confusion of mind, or over-arguing, or presumption, or a habit of precipitate thought, or an appetite for exaggerated conclusions, or other causes." Your withdrawal "refers exclusively to my moral character, and in no degree to my credibility as a witness; on which head your strong opinion remains unmodified" (Second Notice). You hold that, when I use bad arguments, I "am not without an instinctive consciousness that my arguments will not really hold; and allow myself to be led by this consciousness, either to reassure myself by what may almost be called a bullying tone, or to shroud myself in sophis-

tical ambiguities, irrelevancies, and evasions." It is only fair to you, when recording your courteous expressions on one side, to put also on record on the other side, your very unfavourable judgment of my intellectual character. Still, as I just now observed, to rebut such imputations as the above (so far as they are undeserved) is not a subject for which I am so solicitous, as to be led to take much trouble in the attempt. Such arguments as I bring must go for what they are worth, however great my intellectual faults.

I should be inclined then altogether to drop this particular subject, were it not that I fancy myself to see an opening for some approximation to a good understanding upon it. For there is one consideration, which may possibly account for what is otherwise so unaccountable; for the fact, namely, that my original words and their subsequent defence appeared to *you* so evasive, while your criticism on them seemed to *me* so captious and shallow. I readily admit then, that if I had had the least notion that any one of your party really held, or considered it even as faintly probable, that the Catholic Church, or any living part of it, in early times, held the Emperor's voice to be the ultimate standard of orthodoxy, my original wording *would* have been unfair and evasive. I can most truly assert that the very idea of such a thing never crossed my mind; and even now, when the wording of your Second Notice seems almost too explicit to admit of doubt, I can hardly bring myself to think that you do seriously maintain this; and the less so, as I never heard before of *any one*, be his cast of opinions what they might, who so thought.

Until, indeed, I see some sort of *argument* attempted in behalf of this extraordinary idea, I must content myself with repeating what I have before said (Second Letter, p. 7), that I assume it as a thing "too plain to require proof" that the "early Church would have rejected, with deepest indignation, the principle which I had imputed to the Anglican Establishment." But let such an argument *be* brought forward, I pledge myself beforehand to give it an answer. As to the writer in the *Christian Remembrancer*, it is sufficient to observe again (Second Letter, p. 6), that *he* expressly describes the State's claims as

having been *more* extensive in the later, than in the early age; and that my original challenge, which you have so signally failed to answer, most expressly *includes* those precedents which *he* considers the strongest.

And now, in bringing our long controversy to a close, let me again remonstrate with you on your refusal to state any principles whatever on your own side. You say (Concluding Notice) that you are "a newspaper writer, not a theologian," and cannot therefore "deal with such subjects" as those which I have started. I confess I cannot even apprehend your meaning in this reply. On the Gorham question, for example, it would certainly have been most unreasonable in any one to expect you to discuss the various theological arguments, from Scripture, from Antiquity, from Anglican writers, adduced by the respective parties. But it would have been *the reverse* of unreasonable surely to expect you to state, as you did of course from the first state, *for which principle* you were contending. In like manner with a Presbyterian opponent, you would not indeed *argue* theologically for the Divine institution of the Episcopal office; but you would state boldly and uncompromisingly that such *is* your doctrine. This then is what I desire; that you will not argue, but *state*, the doctrine you hold against us. For instance, on this very matter of Episcopacy,—is the principle, for which you contend, the independent jurisdiction of each ordained Bishop over some certain flock? Or if that be not your principle, then what *is* it? I only ask you to do, in your controversy against Rome, the very thing, which you habitually and of course do in your controversy against "Evangelicals" and Presbyterians. It is a matter of the commonest fairness, which to this day we Catholics have not received from even one of your controversial writers. At least, if there *be* one single exception, and if any writer of your communion will point it out, and will claim as his own such positive statement of principle, I shall be only too delighted to have some definite position wherewith to grapple.

You will say perhaps that such a question as the above is altogether separate from the line of argument on which you have mainly rested; and that I have no right to claim of you the going beyond such line. But, in the first place, this is not alto-

gether the case. In the concluding remarks of your original series on "Anglo-Romanism," which you have quoted at length and again appropriated in your Concluding Notice, we find it stated as an essential part of the reasoning whereon you found your case, that your Establishment is "a body which has never been rightly cut off by any competent authority from the Catholic Church; which has not by any formal act of her own pledged herself to heresy; which imposes no terms of communion which we cannot accept." Now, whereas every single particular in the above description is notoriously denied by every single Christian in communion with Rome, I cannot see what right you have confidently to assert this, without so much as an endeavour to explain your very *meaning*; without giving us the slightest idea, *what* you regard as the "competent authority" for "cutting off" a local Society "from the Catholic Church;" *what* you regard as a "formal act;" *what* you regard as "heresy;" *what* you regard as legitimate "terms of communion."

Nor, on the other hand, can you treat this paragraph of yours as a mere supplemental peroration; it is absolutely *required* as part of your argument. Otherwise, any Presbyterian or Independent in Europe might make use of your whole reasoning, and turn it against yourself. "Do not tell me," he might say, "that Episcopal Societies make up the Church. God no doubt *intended* that the Church should be governed by bishops; just as He *intended* that in faith she should be one, and in holiness 'without spot or wrinkle, or any such thing.' But when, on the one hand, there sprung up such fearful doctrinal dissensions among bishops, and such fearful doctrinal corruptions in great numbers of them;—and when, on the other hand, there appeared those awful moral enormities which you have so powerfully described;—the obligation, whether in presbyter or layman, of obeying such bishops came to a natural end." You could not even profess an answer to this, except by such arguments as you intend to convey, in that paragraph of yours to which I have just referred. We have a right therefore to expect, not only that vague and general *words* be used, but that we should have some means of at least guessing the *sense* of those words.

But in truth, even on what is your main course of argument, the argument namely founded on the immorality tolerated within the Catholic Church, you are no less vague and unsatisfactory. I said, in my last Letter (p. 99):

“Make a clear statement, what are the conditions imposed by our blessed Saviour as the tenure on which the Church remains in possession; give proofs of this statement from Scripture; explain how the facts of history and the testimony of the Fathers accord with it. I am quite convinced you cannot do any one of these three things; but if you do, I pledge myself, in that case, to meet you on your new ground.”

As one after another of your Notices appeared, I looked eagerly to see some attempt at least at this essential preliminary for argument; but in vain. Regarding me as a hasty and as an unlearned writer, you fancied that on various matters of mere detail you had caught me tripping; and you applied yourself with much keenness and severity to the criticism of such details, until your readers, and possibly yourself, forgot that you were wholly shirking the real question at issue. May I venture further to say of you, as you do of me (Concluding Notice), that your “consciousness” of having *no* real position led you possibly to “reassure yourself by what may almost be called a bullying tone?” Not indeed that either the overbearing tone or the minute criticism, has effected any result for you which can be a matter of congratulation: for true though it may be that in the course of our controversy the most unscrupulous inaccuracy of statement and citation has been displayed, I think the previous pages shew, that it has not been *on my side*. But as to any *larger* criticism,—any attempt to state any one single broad principle of Theology or of History,—or to give any general interpretation whatever of the broad facts to be met with in Scripture and Antiquity,—you are safe from reply because you are innocent of assertion.

I wish earnestly to press on your notice the unfair, and (if I may use the word) ungenerous, nature of this mode of controversy. It is like shooting at a man in the open field from behind a hedge. Even in the region of physics, it is Dr. Whately's remark, that “there are unanswerable objections against a plenum, and unanswerable objections against a vacuum; but *one*

*or the other must be true.*" And much more in such matters as these. History will soon indeed be regarded again as an old almanack, if a conclusion is supposed shaken, because there are one or two isolated facts which seem on the surface at variance with it; though I am bound indeed to say, that if there *are* facts thus seemingly at variance with the Catholic conclusions, you have not succeeded in discovering them. But it is the dictate of common sense and common fairness, that our respective conclusions should first be drawn up in a definite and consistent shape, and *then* respectively confronted with historical facts. The moment when this is first fairly done by an Anglican writer, will be an era in controversy. A Catholic is of necessity responsible for the whole wide and well-ascertained range of Catholic doctrine; in your Notices you have made *yourself* responsible for—no one definite tenet whatever.

This has been most remarkably evincèd in your singular comment on St. Augustine and the Church of his time. It now appears (see p. 26) that you consider that Church to have deliberately, habitually, and systematically, violated a precept which yet was "binding on every age;" and that the best "*excuse*" which can be made for the said Church, when examined, comes to nothing at all. You consider, further, that a certain passage of Isaias "condemns at once the miserable tone" of St. Augustine's\* "sentiments;" by "the depth and meaning which it reveals in that disciplinary precept of St. Paul," which that holy Father regards as of merely temporary obligation. Put such sentiments as these before Dr. Pusey, without telling him the quarter from whence they come; and it cannot be doubted (considering his uniform language of reverence towards the Nicene Church in general and St. Augustine in particular), that he would regard the promulgator of them as not *less* removed from agreement with him, to say the least, than is a "Roman" Catholic. And yet no expression of them, nor hint at them, had previously been given; the greatest sympathy with Dr. Pusey's views had been expressed; these opposite notions had been kept studiously in reserve; until it appeared that they might be found

\* You say, "Mr. Ward's sentiments;" but you do not deny that on this point St. Augustine holds the very same.



available, to help you in escaping an argumentative entanglement, and throwing a stone against Rome. Is this a legitimate and straightforward manner of conducting controversy?

I have spoken of "bringing this controversy to a close," because you have expressed so strong a wish to do so; and I shall in no way therefore interpret your "silence" as giving "consent" to my various propositions. I reserve to myself also the same liberty; and shall not feel bound to reply on any strictures which you may possibly think fit to make. But, in fairness to you, one exception to this must be made. The first section of the present Letter introduces new matter into the controversy; and if you are induced to express any criticism on *that* section, I am bound explicitly to notice such criticism, and will not fail to do so.

I remain, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

WILLIAM GEORGE WARD.

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